GREATER INDIA STUDIES No. 2

TRAVELS OF TIBETAN PILGRIMS IN THE SWAT VALLEY

BY

GIUSEPPE TUCCI

PUBLISHED BY

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Member of the Royal Academy of Italy.

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Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley

PART I

INTRODUCTION

It is now accepted by all scholars that Uḍḍiyāna[1] must be located in the Swāt Valley: in fact I think that the view of my friend Benoytosh Bhattacharyya[2] who still identifies Uḍḍiyāna with the western part of Assam has but few supporters. But it must be admitted that our knowledge of the country in Buddhist times is very scanty; our only informants are in fact the Chinese pilgrims, but the description which they have left of the place is not very much detailed.[3]

It was left to Sir Aurel Stein to identify, in the course of his adventurous travels in the Swāt Valley, the various places referred to by the Chinese pilgrims and to describe

1 S. LÉVI, *Le catalogue des Yakṣas dans la Mahāmāyūri, Journal Asiatique*, 1915, p. 19 ff.

2 *Buddhist Iconography*, p. xxxii and *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*, p. 45. But *cf.* BAGCHI in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VI, p. 580 ff.

3 Fa hsien, *Records*, Legge's trans., p. 28; Yuan Chwang, (Hiouen-Thsang), *Memoires* (*Julien*), I, 131 ff., CHAVANNES, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue occidentaux* (p. 128), *Sung Yun* in CHAVANNES, *Voyage de Song Yun dans l'Udyāna et le Gandhāra* (518-522 *A. C*), *Bulletin de l'École Française de l'Extrême-Orient*, 1903, p. 379.

in a fascinating book[4] the remains which have escaped destruction. The systematical exploration of this region is likely to contribute greatly to our knowledge of Buddhism and Oriental history. In fact, modern researches point to the great importance of the Swāt Valley; not only was it very near to the commercial routes linking India with Central Asia but it was considered[5] as the birthplace of many rites and practices later on absorbed into Mahāyāna. There are many Tantras which were commonly acknowledged as having been first revealed in Uḍḍiyāna. One of the most esoteric methods of Tāntric realisations relating chiefly to the cycle of the *ḍākinī* was even known as the Uḍḍiyānakrama; the connection of the country with magic is alluded to in some Tāntric manuals which even to-day enjoy great popularity.

It is therefore desirable to have some better and more detailed information about a country to which our researches point as one of the most active centres of radiation of Hindu esoterism.

During my travels in western Tibet I was fortunate enough to find two texts which are a kind of itinerary of the Swāt Valley. We easily understand why this place became so famous as a kind of magic-land for many Tibetan pilgrims when we remember that it was considered to have been the birth-place of Padmasaṃbhava. There are, in

4 *On Alexander's track to the Indus*, London, 1929.

5 Tucci, *Some glosses upon the Guhyasamāja* in *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques*, III, p. 351 and *Indo-Tibetica III*, II, p. 79.

fact, besides India proper, other countries which greatly influenced the mystic literature of Tibet; when the intercourse with them became rare or came to an end for political reasons, those countries were transformed into a fairyland of which the geographical and historical reality faded and decayed; one of them, is Śambhala and the other Orgyan, *viz.*, Uḍḍiyāna.

The various mystic revelations connected with the two countries were respectively accepted by two different schools; Orgyan, the country of Padmasambhava, and the place of the fairies (*ḍākinī*) became the holy land for the rÑiṅ ma pa, and, later on for the bKa' rgyud pa (specially for the sub-sects ḥBrug pa and Kar ma pa); Śambhala was, on the other hand, changed into a paradise for the ascetics initiated into the mysteries of Kālacakra still counting many adepts chiefly among the dGe lugs pa, *viz.*, the yellow sect. I think that Śambhala became popular in Tibet after Orgyan; that is the reason why we cannot find about it as much information as we can gather as regards Orgyan; nor do I know of any historical itinerary of that country. This seems to point to the fact that the mystic significance of Śambhala developed at a later time, when any real and direct connection with the country had come to an end and the Tibetans had only to rely upon the information to be gathered from the Vimalaprabhā or from the earlier commentators of the Kālacakra Tantra.[6] Even the infor-

6 No great weight can be attached to a fragment published by LAUFER, *zur Buddhistischen Literatur der Uiguren*, *T'oung Pao*, 1907.

mation about the country of Śambhala which we gather from the commentary of mK 'as hgrub rje contains nothing but mythology.

The only itinerary which has come down to us, *viz.*, the "*Śam bha lai lam yig*"[7] by the famous third Pañ c'en bLa ma bLo bzañ dpal ldan ye śes (1740-1780), as I have shown elsewhere, gives the impression of being nothing more than a literary compilation largely based upon mythic and fantastic traditions. From all these facts we can draw the conclusion that the yellow sect composed its guides to Śambhala, *viz.*, to the Kālacakra-paradise which had, in the meantime, become a supreme ideal for most of its followers, in order to possess the counterpart of the holy Orgyan of the rival schools. The country itself was no longer a geographical reality to be exactly located in some part of the world; it was somewhere in the north, but as to where, that was practically a mere hypothesis.

On the other hand we know of many itineraries to Orgyan. One is that of Buddhagupta;[8] it is not very late,

p. 401. which seems to have been influenced by the mythological ethnography of Central Asian countries as preserved in the Chinese compilations such as the Shan hai king. According to the Vimalaprabhā Śambhala would have been on the shore of the Sitā river, its chief place being Kalāpa.

7 Edited and translated by GRÜNWEDEL, *Der Weg nach Sambhala. Sam bha lai lam yig—Abhand. der Königl. Bayerischen Ak. der Wissenschaften*, München, 1915.

8 Upon his travels see TUCCI, *The sea and land travels of a Buddhist sādhu in the sixteenth century, Indian Historical Quarterly*. Vol. VII. p. 683. I avail myself of the opportunity which is here

but it shows that even as late as the XVIth century that part of Asia was still considered as a kind of holy place worth visiting by the few Buddhist adepts still surviving in India, in spite of the dangers which they were likely to meet on account of the risk of the journey itself and of the unfriendliness of the Muslims. According to Buddhagupta the country in his time was known under the name of Ghazni.

But he usually mentions the country under its traditional name, showing that Tibetan Orgyan is derived from Uḍḍiyāna, "on account," he says, "of the similarity of sound between ḍ and r." It must be mentioned in this connection that in Tibetan we are confronted with two forms of this name, some sources giving 'Orgyan' and some others 'Urgyan.' There is no doubt that both go back to a Sanskrit original: it is in fact known that in the Indian texts this country is called both Uḍḍiyāna and Oḍiyāna. The first seems, anyhow, to be the right one.

But there are two older itineraries to the same country and much more detailed: the similarity between some passages of these texts containing the description of the place and the narrative of Buddhagupta leaves me little

offered to me to correct a statement contained in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IX. p. 235. I did not say in that paper that Potalaka is to be searched for in Madagascar, but that according to the tradition referred to by Buddhagupta, there was a time in India when Potala was located by some schools in that island and I insisted upon the fact that this localisation shifted from place to place "according to beliefs of the various communities and the spreading of the geographical knowledge."

doubt that Tāranātha had one of them under his eyes when he wrote the account of the travels of his master.

The two itineraries here studied are respectively that of Orgyan pa and that of sTag ts'aṅ ras pa. Orgyan pa means in fact "the man of Orgyan" which implies that his travels were so famous that he was given the name of the miraculous country which he had been able to visit and whence he returned safe back to his fatherland.

He was the most prominent disciple of a *siddha* or *grub t'ob* who still enjoys a great renown all over Tibet, I mean rGod ts'aṅ pa. The study of Tibetan chronology is still at its very beginning and it is therefore very difficult to fix the date of many Tibetan events; but fortunately some chronicles contain a short biography of Orgyan pa with certain chronological data which enable us to fix his age approximately.

The historical work I am referring to is the *C'os ḥbyuṅ* by Pad ma dkar po, one of the most famous polygraphs of Tibet and the greatest authority among the ḥBrug pa who call him 'ṅag dbaṅ,' the master of the speech.[9]

The inclusion of the biography of Orgyan pa in his chronicle depends on the fact that Orgyan pa belongs to the same *sampradāya, viz.*, to the same mystic school as Pad ma dkar po, both being adepts of the ḥBrug pa sub-

9 The full title being *C'os ḥbyuṅ bstan pai padma rgyas pai ñin byed*. The biography of Orgyan pa is at p. 181.

sect, which has now its stronghold in Bhutān but is largely spread all over Tibet.

I subjoin the chief contents of the biography written by Pad ma dkar po. "Urgyan pa"[9a] was born in Go lun in the territory of Zur ts'o. His father was called Jo p'an. His clan was that of rGyus...............

"At the age of seven he became a catechumen under rGod ts'aṅ pa who had gone to Bhuṭa. Then up to the age of sixteen he learned many tantras of the yoga class along with their liturgy such as the Kila, Hevajra and Vajrapāṇi Tantras..................

"He became famous as a scholar who had no rivals in three branches of learning, *viz.*, the explanation, the discussion and the composition; from his elder brother mDo sde dpal he heard the small commentary on the Prajñā. As to the *vinaya*, having looked at this, he found that his inclination towards this branch of learning was favourable; specially by a mere glance at the treatise upon the one hundred and one varities of karman (*ekottarakarmaśataka*) he learned it by heart. At the age of twenty he was given various names by his masters, *viz.*, that of mK'an po by Rin rtse of Bo doṅ, that of Slob dpon by bSam gliṅ pa of Zaṅ, that of gSaṅ ston by the Ācārya bSod 'od pa, and he fully realized the meaning expressed by these names. He then received the title of Rin c'en dpal.

9a Pad ma dkar po uses this form instead of the more common Orgyan pa.

"He made the vow of studying a single system for twelve years and of avoiding meat; he then perfected himself in the study of the Kālacakra according to the method of ḥGro at the school of Rin rtse of Bo doṅ and according to the method of C'ag at the school of mDo sde dpal of Go luṅ..............." Then the biography narrates how he happened to meet rGod ts'aṅ pa, who was able to give him the supreme inspiration of the Kālacakra. "But he discovered also that he had no *karmic* connection with Śambhala but rather with Urgyan, therefore Urgyan pa resolved to start; first of all he remained for nine months in the northern desert and then he went to Ti se, the country of Maryul, Ga śa, Dsa lan dha ra. Then knowing that three of his five companions were not fit for the journey he dismissed them and leading with him dPal yes he went to Urgyan............

"There he saw a mountain which is the self-born place of Heruka which was formerly called Ka ma dho ka.........

"He then wanted to return to Tibet in order to accompany dPal yes and on the way back traversing Kashmir he was chosen by a householder as the family *guru*.

"By his great merits he made his catechumen the king of mṄa ris with the people round him. Then he went to Bodhgayā in India where the king gŚiṅ tan can Rāmapāla was his benefactor and gave him the title of supreme master of the mystic assembly............

"Then he went to China. On the way he met Karma pa who entrusted to him the charge of helping him in

transmitting the doctrine; in China he was invited by the king Go pā la, but after one year he returned; in fact he did not receive even a needle. He passed away at the age of seventy."

This biography gives therefore the following points of chronological fixity; he was the disciple of rGod ts'aṅ pa, contemporary with a king of Bodhgayā, Rāmapāla by name, with a king of China called Go pā la and with the famous Tibetan reformer Karma-bakshi. The date of this last doctor is known; according to the chronological table published by Csoma de Körös and extracted from the Vaidūrya dkar po the date of his birth is to be fixed at 1200 *d.C.* (Csoma 1202). As to the Emperor of China there is little doubt that his name has been modified so that it might assume an Indian form: it is quite clear that it corresponds to Kubilai. Rāmapāla, king of Bodhgayā, was perhaps a petty chief of the place. Anyhow these chronological references are quite sufficient to establish the approximate date of our pilgrim. He must have lived in the XIIIth century. The fact that he was appointed by Karma-bakshi as his assistant while he was on the way to China seems to imply that Karma bakshi was already old. Otherwise, there would have been no need of entrusting the school and the teaching to a probable successor.

So it seems quite probable that the travel of our pilgrim to Orgyan took place after 1250. The itinerary of Orgyan pa is to be found in a biography of this Tibetan *sādhu* which I discovered in the library of the monastery of

Hemis when in 1930 I spent the summer there and under the guidance of the skugšogs s Tag ts'aṅ ras pa had the rare opportunity of investigating the large collection of block prints and manuscripts that it contains.

This biography is preserved in a bulky manuscript on paper which is very old but incomplete. The work seems to be very rare. I never found mention of it in other monasteries which I visited; the biography of Orgyan pa is not even included in that vast collection which is the *dK'ar rgyud rnam t'ar sgron me* or at least in the copy[10] which I possess.

This biography deserves special attention because it shows some peculiarities of its own; it has not been elaborated with literary pretensions; there are many terms in it which are absolutely colloquial, chiefly used in Western Tibet.

I cannot help thinking that this itinerary has not been revised; it looks like a first redaction of the narrative of the travel written by some disciples of Orgyan pa himself. Not rarely he speaks in the first person. This fact augments the interest of the book. Of course there is a great deal of legend even in it. But this cannot be avoided; there is hardly any doubt that Orgyan pa really believed many of the things which he told his disciples. We must not forget the special spiritual atmosphere in which these

10 *dK'ar rgyud rnams kyi rnam t'ar gyi sgron me; dkar rgyud* is here used for the more common *bka' rgyud*.

yogins live; boundaries between reality and pure imagination disappear. Whatever happens in this universe is not due to natural events fixed by certain laws, but is the product of multifarious forces which react upon one another. The most natural facts appear to the *grub t'ob* as the symbol or the manifestation of inner forces which, though unknown to the rest of the world, are no longer a mystery to him—or upon which he cannot have his hold through his psychic powers. We may laugh when we read that every woman he meets appears to him as a *ḍākinī;* but we must not forget the psychology of this pilgrim who had gone to the fairy land of the *ḍākinīs* in order to experience there those realizations to which the Tantras contained so many allusions. Anyhow these magical and fantastic elements are few in comparison with the traditional biographies (*rnam t'ar*) of the Tibetan saints; even in the short biography of Orgyan pa by Pad ma dkar po the historical and geographical data almost disappear under the growth of legends and dreams and visions. The greater the distance from the saint, the lesser the truth about him. The itinerary as it is has not been subject to this process. All this shows that the importance of the travels of our Tibetan pilgrim must not be denied. It is quite possibly an almost contemporary record of a journey to a country which was already considered as a magic land, and was seen through the eyes of a man who had no sight for reality. Still, we can follow quite well his track, from Tibet to Jalandhara, then to India, to the Indus, to the Swāt Valley, to the

sacred mountain of Ilam, and then back to Kashmir through the Hazara district.

There are some ethnological and historical data to be collected in these pages which are confirmed by Persian or European travellers.

They also show that at the time of the traveller Buddhism was still surviving in the Swāt Valley though Islam had already begun to eradicate its last trace.

In this way Orgyan pa renewed, as it were, the old tradition of the Lotsāvas who had gone to the sacred land of India in order to study there Sanskrit and to learn from the doctors of Nālandā or Vikramaśīlā the esoterism of the Tantras; of course, Buddhism had in the meantime lost in India its vital force and perhaps not very much work was left to the translators. But the contact with the holy land was still considered, as it is up to now among the Tibetans, to be purifying to the spirit and the cause of new inspirations. In the case of Orgyan pa it is quite possible that the travels of his master influenced him and led him to undertake the long journey to the far away country of Swāt. In fact we know that rGod ts'aṅ pa went up to Jalandhara, which was another *pīṭha* according to the Buddhist tradition: It is one of the twenty-four places of Vajrakāya as located by the Tantras within the Himālayas. It also gave the name to a famous *siddha, viz.*, Jalandhara-pa.[11]

11 Cf. TĀRANĀTHA, *Edelsteinmine*, p. 59.

The short biography of rGod ts'añ pa in the *C'os ḥbyuṅ* of Pad ma dkar po contains nothing more than the scanty information that he went to Jalandhara;[12] but I thought that perhaps in the original *rnam t'ar*, if any ever existed, it would have been possible to find a larger account of his travels.

In my journey of 1933 I discovered in Spiti a manuscript containing a large biography of this saint[13] and, as I expected, I found that it has preserved from page 43 to page 53 the itinerary which he followed in his pilgrimage to the holy *tirtha*. Since it is rather detailed and fairly old, in as much it describes a journey which must have taken place in the first quarter of the XIIIth century, I think it to be worthy of notice. I therefore give a translation of all the passages containing some useful data. The text is also appended since manuscripts of this work are, I suppose, not easily accessible. I add that only passages of geographical and historical interest have been translated; all portions containing mere legends or those devoid of any real importance have been suppressed.

Though short, the text contains some useful information about the Himalayan countries and their ethnology.

12 Even his biography which is contained as a separate chapter in the *dKar rgyud rnams kyi rnam t'ar gyi sgron me* and which bears the title *rGyal brgod ts'añ pai rnam t'ar gnad bsdus pai sgron me* is far from being exhaustive.

13 The full title is *rGyal ba rGod ts'añ pa mgon po rdo rjei rnam t'ar mt'oñ ba don ldan nor bui p'reñ ba.*

It also shows that the area where Buddhism had penetrated was more or less similar to that of the present day.

Spiti was already a centre of Lamaism: in its mountains rGod ts'aṅ pa finds many famous ascetics. Lāhul was Buddhist, but no outstanding personality was met by him: no mention is made of Trilokanāth, and the tribes of Mon pa—as he calls them—were rather unfriendly towards Buddhism.

Though he met a Buddhist Sādhu on the way back from Chambā, the people there seem to have been specially Hindu and rather orthodox. Anyhow it appears that they were not yet accustomed to seeing Tibetan pilgrims and were therefore not liberal towards them: things changed later on and at the time of sTag ts'aṅ ras pa there was a regular intercourse between Jalandhara and Tibet as there is even now. There is hardly any doubt that this was chiefly due to the travels of Tibetan pilgrims of the *rDsogs c'en* and specially of *bKa rgyud pa* sects who used to visit the sacred places of Buddhist tradition. After rGod ts'aṅ pa their number must have considerably increased: to-day there is a regular intercourse along the routes and the tracks of western Tibet.

From there they descend to the holy *tīrthas* of the Buddhist tradition, to Amritsar where the tank of the Golden Temple is believed to be the lake of Padmasambhava, to Bodhgayā, to Sārnāth. It was through these routes that there came down to the Indian plains the Lama who inspired some of the most fascinating pages in the *Kim*

of Rudyard Kipling. That was no fiction but a real happening; so I was told by Sir Aurel Stein in one of those interesting talks in which he pours as it were his unrivalled experience of things Asiatic.

The inspiration came to Kipling from a holy man, a Tibetan *sādhu*, who many years ago came as far as Lahore and enquired from the father of the poet about the holy places to be visited in India. This Lama renewed the tradition of his ancient forerunners and was certainly unaware that he was to become one of the most interesting figures of modern literature. Rudyard was then still a boy, but so great was the impression he received on seeing the Himālayan-traveller that it never faded from his memory.

"From the country of Žaṅ-žuṅ he went upwards. Along this route there is the holy place of Tretapuri[14] which corresponds to the physical sphere in the list of the twenty-four places (of the Vajrakāya).[15] It is also the place where three valleys meet[16]; there from the root of a high mountain, the river Gaṅgā flows downwards.[17] Along its banks there are three divine abodes[18] of Maheśvara......He (*viz.*,

14 *Viz.*, Tirthapuri of the maps on the right side of the Sutlej to the west of Kailāsa. See below.

15 As to the mystic equivalence of these places see below.

16 The three valleys are that of the Sutlej, that of Missar and that of the river which flows into the Sutlej, to the south of Tirthapuri.

17 Gaṅgā means of course the Sutlej.

18 Lha brten (Lha rten) is, in this case, rather "a divine abode" than temple: as I said elsewhere, every rock near the temple of Tirthapuri is supposed to be the abode of some god or Tāntric deity. TUCCI, *Santi e briganti nel Tibet ignoto*, p. 120.

rGod ts'aṅ pa) remained there for a few days and his mind and his good inclinations greatly developed; great is the benediction one gets in that place. Then proceeding downwards he went to Maṅ naṅ of Guge[19] in the country of Zaṅ žuṅ.[20] It was the residence of Atiśa and there is a miraculous spring. Then he went downwards to the temple mT'o ldiṅ in Zaṅ žuṅ where he saw the residence of Lha btsun Byaṅ c'ub 'od, etc.[21] He went without hesitation through the big rivers, but his body enjoyed a very good health. Then, having crossed the whole country of Žaṅ žuṅ he went to Spiti, where, above Bi lcogs,[22] he met the great *Siddha* K'a rag pa who was unrivalled in the

19 Maṅ naṅ is to the south-east of Toling; it was the birth-place of the lotsâva of Maṅ naṅ, one of the pupils of Rin c'en bzaṅ po. See Tucci, *Rin c'en bzaṅ po e la rinascita del Buddhismo nel Tibet Occidentale intorno al mille—Indo-Tibetica II*. I visited this place during my Tibetan expedition of 1935 and as I stated in the *Illustrated London News*, 28th January 1936, I found there three chapels: in one of which splendid frescoes by Indian artists of the XIth century still exist. See Tucci, *Indian Paintings in Western Tibetan Temples*, *Artibus Asiæ*, VII, p. 191.

20 Although, as a rule, Žaṅ žuṅ is considered to be a synonym of Guge, this passage seems to show that Žaṅ žuṅ had a wider extension and that Guge was merely a province of the same. The same fact is pointed out by the travels of sTag ts'aṅ ras pa and by a very accurate biography of the Saskya chiefs which I found in Shipki. *Bla ma brgyud pai rnam par t'ar p ṅo mts'ar sni ba*, p. 8, a: *pu raṅ, žaṅ žuṅ, glo bo, dol po, guge*.

21 On Lha btsun Byaṅ c'ub 'od, see Tucci, *Rin c'en bzaṅ po*. etc., p. 17 ff.

22 Bilcogs is perhaps Pildhe in the Lipak valley opposite Nako.

meditation of the rDsogs c'en system and had been continually sitting in meditation crossed-legged for thirty years; rGod ts'aṅ pa asked him for the explanation of the law, but since he wanted some presents, he replied that being a beggar he had nothing to offer. The other then said that he could not impart any teaching. rGod ts'aṅ pa presented him mentally with the seven elements of worship[23] and the *siddha* then said that this was the best offering. He, then, imparted to him the instruction concerning the five meditations,[24] *viz.*, that of the all-embracing Vairocana, that of Akṣobhya (*viz.*, the non-perception of manifestations), that of Ratnasambhava (*viz.*, the immanent identity of everything), that of Amitābha (*viz.*, happiness and unsubstantiality both unconceivable by mind), and that of Amoghasiddhi (*viz.*, the spontaneous activity). Then, going upwards he found in a small monastery a naked monk who (continually) counted (while reciting it) the syllable "*hūm*." While counting the "*hūms*" he uttered, he had become a *siddha* who had realized that all imaginations are self-contradictory. Proceeding further he met a great *siddha* called "the man from Brag smug." This master was continually sitting in meditation and did not speak a word to anybody..........

23 This refers to *mānasapūjā* which as we know is considered to be the best.

24 These meditations on the five *tathāgatas* correspond to the five mystic knowledges (*pañcajñāna*) upon which see Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica* III, P. I, p. 55.

Then he went to Gar śa where there is the mountain Gandhala.[25] This mountain is one mile high and on its top there is the selfborn *stūpa* called *dharma mu tri.*[26] He saw it. On its four sides there are miraculous rivers and trees. It is a place blessed by all presiding deities[27] and *ḍākinīs*: it is also the residence of *yogins* and *yoginīs* who have attained to perfection. It is a place absolutely superior to all others.........

There was a kind of small monastery above the village; since he did not want to stop there, he went to the

25 This seems to show that our pilgrim went from Spiti to Lahul (Gar śa, Ga śa or Gar za) through the Chandra valley which was formerly the usual route between the two provinces before the Shigri glacier collapsed. See HUTCHINSON and VOGEL, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, II, 449. Gandhala is Gandhola (Guru Ghantal). According to the tradition which was told during my visit to the place during my travels of 1931, another mountain was the abode of the famous *siddha Ghaṇṭā pā* whose cave is still shown from afar; this explains the Tibetan name of the place Dril bu ri, *viz.*, the mountain of the Bell, *viz.*, probably of the *Siddha Ghaṇṭā pā*, upon whom see GRÜNWEDEL, *Die Geschichten der* 84 *Zauberer*, p. 192. This Dril bu ri is perhaps that alluded to by TAKANATHA, *Edelsteinmine*, p. 17. On Gandhola and Dril bu ri there is a māhātmya *gnas c'en dril bu ri dan gban dho la gnas yig don gsal ba*. It is therefore evident that Dril bu ri and Gandhola are two different places. Dril bu ri is the Mountain called after the Siddha referred to above and Gandhola is called after the temple of Bodhgayā.

26 Perhaps, *dharmamūrti;* every *stūpa* contains the essence of *dharma* and is, therefore, the symbol of *dharma*.

27 This shows the connection of legends here located by the Tibetan tradition with the Tāntric cycle of Saṃvara (*viz.*, *Heruka*) in which the *vira* (*dpa' po*) and *ḍākini* play such an important rôle. Upon this cycle *vide* TUCCI, *Indo-Tibetica* III, Part II, p. 42.

Lotsāva of mGar[28] and informed him about his plan of going as far as Dsva lan dha ra (Jalandhara), but the Lotsāva replied that he could not reach the place and that he would scarcely survive.[29]..........

Then he despatched an interpreter who told everything to the minister of the king of Cambe (Chambā) who was called Su tu, and since this one asked him to lead along the two great ascetics, he replied that if the king gave the order they would come after due deliberation. Three days after, leaving Gar śa they reached the bottom of a high pass full of snow reflecting like a mirror. It was so high that it seemed to rise to heaven.[30] They were considering how it would have been possible to find a way there, when they met many Mon pa[31] who carried loads:, "so—they thought—if these get through, we also can get through". Then those Mon pa with the help of the pick-axe began digging their track and went on; we also followed them. At midday we

28 The village should be Gondla or Gundla. Is *mGar* for ḥGar?

29 The statement contained in *History of the Panjab Hill States* by HUTCHINSON and VOGEL, p. 478, that Gozzan (rGod ts'añ) lama of Lahul lived in the eleventh century must be corrected; nor was rGod ts'añ pa a man from Lahul, though his memory is still living in that country.

30 Is this the Drati pass (15,391 feet) now also dreaded on account of its stone avalanches? *Vide* VOGEL, *Antiquities of the Chambā State*, I, p. 23.

31 Mon pa are called by Tibetans the tribes of the borderland towards India and in many places the aborigines of the provinces later on conquered by them. DAINELLI, *Spedizione De-Filippi*, I, p. 135. LAUFER, *kLu ḥbum bsdus pai sñiṅ po*, p. 94.

reached the pass. But the descent was even steeper than the ascent so that we began to be frightened, thinking how we could go through it. But one of the Mon pa being tied by a rope to the waist, dug some holes in the rock with his pick-axe so that we also went slowly after him. At dusk we reached the bottom of the pass.........Then after about twelve days we came to the presence of the king of Cambhe. There all the mountains of the country of the Mon come to an end. The plain of India is even as the palm of the hand. Grains, food, antelopes, etc., are extraordinarily good; green forests of sugar-cane wave in the wind so beautifully that the mind rejoices.

The king of the place is called Bi tsi kra ma;[32] he commands seven thousand officers; each officer is appointed over seven thousand soldiers. Inside the wall (of the royal palace) the *lotsāva* beat the *ḍamaru* and all men of the palace and all people from the town came to see (the visitors). The king himself sat in a *verandah* and expressed in many ways his astonishment.[33]...........They remained there about five or six days and were happy. Then in three days they reached Dsa lan dha ra. (When they entered the town), a man came out from a crowd, went in front of the ascetic[34] and saying "my master, my master"

32 Perhaps: vicitra var mā; one Vicitravarman is recorded by the Vaṃśāvali of Chambā as the son of Vidagdha (XIth century), but no king of this name of the XIIIth century is known to me.

33 Is this the meaning of *par pir smra ba*?

34 Called in the text, as usual: *Rin po c'e*, viz., "the gem."

led him by his hand (to his house) and offered him good food. This country of Dsa lan dhara is but one of the twenty-four (branches as represented by the twenty-four) places (of the Vajrakāya)[35].

As to the external twenty-four holy places in the Jambu-dvipa they are the twenty-four miraculous appearances of Heruka assumed by him in order to convert the twenty-four kinds of gross people capable of being converted. The twenty-four secret places correspond to the circles (*viz.*, the symbols) of body, speech and spirit in the

35 According to various Tāntric schools and specially that of Śaṃvara the soil of India is considered to be the *vajra*-body of Buddha and it is divided into twenty-four limbs, each corresponding to a holy place (*piṭha*) of famous renown. The 24 places are presided over by 24 deities called *dpa' po* regularly included in the mystic *maṇḍala* of the 62 deities of the Śaṃvaratantra. I have given the complete list and description of these deities in my *Indo-Tibetica* III, Part II, p. 42 ff. where the Tibetan literature on this subject has been investigated. Our pilgrim following evidently a Tibetan tradition, locates the *piṭhas* of the diamond-body in North-Western India: so at the end of his travels to the Swāt Valley Orgyan pa can boast of having made the tour of all the 24 holy places. The Tibetan tradition accepted by rGod Ts'aṅ pa, Orgyan pa and sTag ts'aṅ ras pa is certainly more recent than the other alluded to in the rituals of the *Śaṃvaratantra*. According to this passage of rGod ts'aṅ pa there are:

(a) A series of 24 places geographically located in the supposed Vajra-kāya: they are supposed to be the mystic abodes of various manifestations of Heruka.

(b) The 24 places as reproduced in the symbolic spheres of the *maṇḍala*, they are secret in so far as their significance is explained by the *guru* to the disciple after a proper initiation.

(c) The 24 places in that *maṇḍala* which is one's own body: they must be meditated upon in the *ādhyātmikā-pūjā*.

maṇḍala. The twenty-four internal places are in one's own body............

In Dsa lan dhara all protectors (*vīra*) and *ḍākinī* assemble as clouds. As to this country it is as even as the palm of the hand and easy; *bodhi*-trees and palm-trees and pines of various kinds grow (in this country) and many medical plants such as the three myrobalans grow also there.

There are many fruit-trees such as apricots, pears, apples, peaches, walnuts, etc.; many flowers such as all kinds of lotuses, *padma, kumuda* and *puṇḍarīka* can be found there. The country resounds with the voices of peacocks, parrots, cranes and many other birds. This place resounding with (the noise of) beautiful game such as black antelopes, deer, tigers and leopards, is physically a natural palace in whose interior gods and goddesses abide. To the left and to the right there are two big rivers which in their course meet here along the bend of a mountain-spur in the shape of a sleeping elephant in the town of Nāga ko tre[36] with five thousand inhabitants. On the spur of that mountain there is a great temple called Dsa va la mu gi[37] in which both believers and unbelievers offer their worship. Thirty villages are in charge of this temple. The very day the pilgrim arrived and went to Dsva la mu khe, in the

36 *Viz.*, Nagarkot.

37 *Viz.*, Jvālāmukhi. "Believers (*p'yi*) and unbelievers (*nan*)" are here respectively the Buddhists and the Hindus, but later on, at the times of s'Tag ts'an ras pa, under the name of "believers" both Hindus and Buddhists are included, the unbelievers then being the Muslims.

night there were in the temple sixty or seventy girls, all virgins, beautiful and charming, adorned with five kinds of symbols like divine girls, dressed and adorned with various ornaments such as the jewelled crown. Some of them carried in their hands flowers and other things for the *pūjā* such as incense, etc. The girls having covered their head with a cotton veil, entered the temple. The pilgrim followed them, but a man of low class holding the door-bolt did not allow him to go farther; but he, without hesitation, pushed the door and went in. The other stood up but was unable to hit him, (the pilgrim) went inside. One of the principal ladies said "Sit down here, all these are *ḍākinīs*."[38] Then that lady began to sing some songs. The other girls sang as if they were either the sixteen mystic wisdoms (*vidyā*) or the twenty goddesses, made the offerings with the various ingredients of the pūjā such as flowers, incense, etc. They sang songs and danced accompanying the dance with gestures of the hands............

In front of that great town, downwards, there are five cemeteries.[39] The first is called Ka ma ku ldan sar where Brahmins and others carry pure corpses. Then there is the cemetery P'a ga su. It is a hill upon an even plain. On the top there is a temple of the heretics. It is the place where Saṃvara resides. Then there is the great cemetery

38 In spite of the corruption of the text it is easy to perceive that the sentence is in vernacular.

39 The most famous of these cemeteries seems to have been that of Lagura or Laṅgura, referred to also by Orgyan pa and sTag ts'aṅ.

called La gu ra of triangular shape. There are images of the Sun and of the Moon with the symbols of *āli* and *kāli*.[40] Between these two, on a kind of pillar, there is a self-born image of Bhaṭṭarikā-yoginī. Then there is another great cemetery called Mi bkra sa ra which bestows great benediction upon those who dwell in it and is possessed of various propitious signs. Then there is the cemetery Si ti sa ra which is in turn a meeting place of the protectors and *ḍākinis*. If one resides for some days in these cemeteries one's own merits greatly increase, and the (good) inclinations develop by abiding specially in the two great cemeteries La gu ra and P'a ga su ra..........

In that town there are many begging monks among the unbelievers as well as among the believers, either noble *Yogins* or *Brahmins*.

As to the time for collecting alms (it is as follows). The mistress of the house gets up as soon as the sun begins to warm and after having well swept the house leads (out) the oxen and cleans the *verandah*. Their houses are cleaner than the monasteries and on the earthen walls many designs are painted. On one side of the kitchen they boil

40 *Āli* is the series of the vowels and *kāli* the series of the consonants, the two elements of all mantras and the symbols of cosmic creation. According to the Tantras, the two series are respectively encircling the sun and the moon, *viz.*, the mystic circles in the *nābhi-padma*, *viz.*, the lotus of the navel-wheel at the junction of the veins *iḍā* and *piṅgalā*. Sun and moon are therefore symbols of the two aspects of the divine intelligence as it realizes itself in the reality of the phenomena. *Bhaṭṭarikā-yoginī* is the symbol of the central vein, the *suṣumnā* corresponding to the *turiya* state.

rice-pap and then the mistress of the house carrying a sesamum-oil-lamp burns some incense of good smell: then putting some hot rice-pap upon a plate of bell-metal she goes out, and when the family has bathed, she worships the sun and the moon, then the image of Śiva, the goddess of the outer-door and the goddess of the inner door.[41] Then the mistress of the house goes inside and when the rice-pap is cold, she eats it along with the husband, avoiding any uncleanness. At that time the smell of the aromatic herbs spreads out and all beggars go for alms. The *yogins* blow three times their brass-bell and carrying in one hand the gourd and in another the *ḍamaru,* they reach the door of a house, make the *ḍamaru* resound in various ways and say, "Give alms and practise the law."

The country which is very big is called Dsva lan dha ra, but it has numberless towns; Na ga ko te means in Tibetan "The castle of the snake." He stopped in that place for about five months, but since the nourishment was scanty and agreeable food was lacking, his body was in a very bad condition. Then he returned to Tibet. Avoiding the route he took formerly, he went by a short-cut since he wanted to visit the holy place of Ku lu ṭa. After two days along that route he met in a place called Ki ri raṃ a great ascetic called Anupama whom he asked for the explanation of the law. The other uttered "Homage to the

41 I do not know the name of the two gods of the door; for the protector of the door, see W. CROOKE, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India,* 1926, pp. 98-99.

Buddha, homage to the Dharma, homage to the community", thus bestowing upon him the protection of the three jewels, and then he added: "We both are two *vajra*-brethren,[42] disciples of Ācārya Nāgārjuna. Go to Tibet, you will greatly benefit the creatures."

Then he went to the holy place (*tīrtha*) of Ku lu ṭa which corresponds to the knees of the body included in the circle of the (*Vajra*-)kāya as represented by the twenty-four holy places. The core of this place is called Siddhi where there is a forest of white lotuses in flower; there, upon a stone there are the foot-prints of Buddha.[43] In that place one reaches quickly the best powers of the common degree,[43a] but one meets also many hindrances; in this place there are two venerable (*bhadanta*) and one *yogin*.

Then he went to Gar śa; then to the retreat in Ghan dha la. He spent there the summer; and his inclinations to the practice of the good greatly increased. Then in the autumn he reached the pass of rTsaṅ śod in Spiti.

I must confess that these itineraries of the Tibetan monks are far from that exactness which we admire in the writings of the Chinese travellers. As I said before, not only a great deal of legendary and fantastic elements permeates their descriptions, but the itinerary itself can hardly be followed from one place to another. Many reasons

42 *Viz.*, fellow-disciples in the mystic school of Nāgārjuna, the most famous master of the *Vajrayāna*.

43 Perhaps the same as the *stūpa* alluded to by Yuan Chwang, I. 131.

43a *Viz.*, of the Prajñāpāramitā class.

account for this fact; first of all proper names are spelt in the most arbitrary ways; there is no trace of the strict phonetic rule generally followed by the Chinese pilgrims. The Tibetan travellers try to transcribe into Tibetan letters the spelling of the various places which they happened to visit; but this transcription is often imperfect.

We cannot also forget that their works were for a long time copied by monks of various capacities who never saw the places spoken of by the pilgrims. This is the reason why so many mistakes creep into these biographies, increasing the inaccuracies of the manuscripts which, as is well known to scholars, are, as a rule, far from being correct.

There are also cases when the authors attempt translating foreign names according to no fixed rule or according to some fanciful etymologies which make very difficult the identification of the original. No criterion is also followed as regards enumeration of the places recorded in their narrative. In some cases the places are mentioned one after another; in other cases our pilgrims seem to forget the intermediate halts and record only the starting-point and the place of arrival. The direction is rarely given and even when noted it cannot claim to be always exact. Distances are never registered except in days: but this does not help us very much, because we do not exactly know the average length of their marches. As a rule the Tibetans are good walkers, but they halt a good deal during the day. So far as my experience goes, I can say that they march at the average of 10 miles per day. But in India they seem to

proceed more slowly on account of the heat and the different conditions of the soil to which they are unaccustomed; on the whole, travelling in the plains is for them more tiring than marching through the highlands and the plateaus of their fatherland.

Records of speed are often mentioned in these writings, but we are confronted with exaggerations intended to show the miraculous powers of these *yogins* and their proficiency in those special *Haṭhayoga* practices in which the *rluṅ pa* are said to be specially expert.[44]

For all these reasons it is particularly difficult to locate the places mentioned in our itineraries; localization on the basis of mere similarity of spelling of names when no distance and no direction is given is particularly doubtful. I must also confess that my interest is rather centred upon other branches of oriental literature than history and geography; this increases the difficulty of my task. But my purpose has only been to place before scholars more qualified for this kind of research than myself certain texts which I happened to find and which are still difficult of access. I leave them to draw the conclusions, if any, from the sources here made accessible. As regards these sources I must add that the Tibetan text of Orgyan pa has been appended since it seems to be very rare. I selected those portions of his vast biography which have a real historical or geographical significance; legends, dreams, prophecies

44 David Neel, *Mystiques et Magiciens du Tibet*. p. 210.

which enliven the narrative have been suppressed. But I thought it necessary to add to the travels of Orgyan pa the summary of those of sTag ts'aṅ ras pa, who is also known under the name of Orgyan pa Nag dbaṅ dGyamts'o and is the founder of the monastery of Hemis in Ladakh. His date is known, since we are told in the Chronicles of Ladakh that he was a contemporary of King Seṅ ge rnam rgyal (about 1590-1635).[45]

His biography is easily accessible as it is printed in the monastery of Hemis, and it seems to have been composed at the time of the same ruler mentioned above by bSod nams rGyal mts'an dpal bzaṅ po. It bears the following title:; *'Au ṭi ya ṅag dbaṅ rgya mts'oi rnam t'ar legs bris vai dū rya dkar poi rgyud man.* This section, which comprehends the biography proper, is followed by the itinerary of Orgyan; *Orgyan mk'a' ḥgroi gliṅ gi lam yig t'ar lam bgrod pai t'em skas* written, according to the colophon, by sTag ts'an himself and printed in Leh under the patronage of Seṅ ge rnam rggal and the queen sKal bzaṅ sgrol ma.

The third section consists of songs of sTag ts'aṅ ras pa in the traditional style of the *dohākoṣa* and of the poems of Milaraspa, and bears the title: *Orgyan pa ṅag dbaṅ rgya mts' oi mgur ḥbum zal gdams zab don ut pa lai ḥp' reṅ ba.*

As a rule, names of places in this itinerary are better spelt, but from the geographical point of view we are con-

45 FRANCKE, *Chronicles of Western Tibet*, pp. 108, 109.

fronted with the same inaccuracy as has been referred to in other Tibetan itineraries; anyhow a good deal of other useful information is to be derived from the diary of sTag ts'aṅ ras pa.

This is the reason why I gave a resumé of all important passages concerned with the travels of this monk. In this case I did not add the Tibetan text, since it is not difficult now to get a copy of his complete biography from the monastery of Hemis which boasts of having this saint as its founder.

The comparison of the two itineraries, *viz.*, that of Orgyan pa and that of his later imitator proves very interesting; we realize the progress done by Islam during the three centuries which approximately intervene between the two travellers; sTag ts'aṅ ras pa set off with the *lam yig* of his predecessor as his guide; so, at least, we read in his notes of travel. But very often he failed to find the places there mentioned; is this fact due to the inaccuracy of the redaction of the diary of Orgyan pa which he employed or was it the result of historical events which in many a place had already altered the importance of old cities and villages and shifted the halting-places of caravans from one site to another?

I feel rather inclined to accept the first view; comparing the lists of the places visited by both pilgrims, we easily realize that the spelling of names in Orgyan 'pa's travels was badly handled by the copyists; I subjoin a few instances. While the manuscript at my disposal reads

'Bhrarmila,' the copy used by sTag ts'aṅ had 'Vara-mila': so Orgyan pa's 'Sila' seems to correspond to 'Hila' of sTag ts'aṅ; of another place our manuscript gives two readings 'Brahor' and 'Bhahola', while the copy of sTag ts'aṅ reads 'Hora'; so also while on the one side we have 'Na 'ugri' or 'Na 'utri' as the name of a big salt-mine, on the other side the itinerary used by sTag ts'aṅ reads 'Bain-hoti'. In this way it is clear that it is a difficult task for us to identify correctly the route followed by the pilgrims, as it was for sTag ts'aṅ to find out the places his predecessor went through. In fact comparing the lists here appended we must come to the conclusion that he followed a quite independent route; if we except the valley of Swât proper, where more or less the itinerary is the same, the places registered in the *Lam yig* of sTag ts'aṅ are not to be found in that of Orgyan pa—the only exception being Malot and Rukâla; it can only be stated that sTag ts'aṅ went out of Swât at least partially, by the same way by which his pre-decessor had entered; but this implies that Sandhi pa and Kavoka correspond to *Kaboko, Ka'oka* and *Siddhabor.* The route also to Kashmir is through Jhelum and the Pirpañjal and not through the Hazara district as in the case of Orgyan pa. The many adventures he met on the way, compelled sTag ts'aṅ to take long detours and very often to retrace his steps. Anyhow in order to have a better idea of the two routes it is interesting to give the list of the places as registered in the two itineraries.

Orgyan pa[45a]

gDon dmar

½ day

North door of Tise

Map'am lake

Kulu

Maru

Garnatama mountain

Jalandhara Nagarkeṭe (Nagarkot)

Langura cemetery

20 days

Chandrabhāga river

Indranila on that river

Bhrarmila

1 day

Sila

Town of the Mongols near river flowing from Kashmir

Brahor (Bhahola)

1 day

Na'ugri Na'utti

1 (or 3 in the verses)

Malakoṭe (Malakoṭa)

5 days

Rukala

4 days

Rajahura

Sindhu river

Kalabur

Bhik'robhasa

1 day

sTag ts'an ras pa

Tise, Myan po ri rdson,

Pretapuri, K'yun lun,

Sarang-la, rNam rgyal, Pu

Sa, Soran, K'yags,

Suget'an

Dvalamukhe

Jalandhara-Kangarkoṭ

Langura cemetery

1 day

Nurup'u

Srinagara

Paṭhanna

Nosara

Kaṭhuhara

Parurda

Paturar

Paṭhanmusur

Sakiri

Salau

Bhets'arbhura

Salakauṭhu

Soṭakoṭa

Ghortsoraka

2 days

Balanagaratila

Kashmir

Varan

1 day

Maṭe

Zans dkar

45a The Arabic numbers show the distance in days from one place to another, according to the itineraries. The spelling is that of the Tibetan texts.

Orgyan pa

Kaboko, Ka'oka
1 day

Bhonele Bhenele
Siddhabhor
1 day
K'aragk'ar
Kodambar river
Ilo mountain
(all together 7 days from Ka'oka)
1 day
Rayik'ar (near Lhabapa's cave)
Mangalaor
½ day
Dhuma t'ala
Kama'onka mountain (to the W.)
(Kamalaglupa cave)
Mangala-pani (to the N. of Dumat'ala)
5 days
Ghari
7 days
Uršar
3 days
Tsik'rota
1 day
Ramikoṭi (Rasmisvari)
9 days
rDorjemula
Kashmir
Jalandhara

sTg ts'an ras pa

ḥBargdan
Ga śa
K'an gsar-Dar rtse
Skye nan
Gusamaṇḍala
2 days
Re p'ag
1 day
Maru
2 days
Pata
Koṭala pass
Pangi
Sura
Naran-Kamaru
2 days
Tsamblie dam pa
7 days
Hindutam
Nurup'u—as before up to
Gotsoraka
big river from Kashmir
(Varamila)[45b]
15 days
Hila
(Hora)
(Banhoti)
3 days
Muraga river
3 days
Tsośara
Dhodhośna
Vavula
2 days

45[b] The names between brackets are those of the places searched for by sTag ts'an as being in the itinerary of Orgyan pa but not found.

sTag ts'aṅ ras pa
Maloṭṭa
2 + 9 days
Salt lake
3 days
Rukâla
Akkithial
Bhahupur
Mâlapur
Uts'alapur
Sapunpur
Reuret
Atike—Indus
Mats' ilkanathatril
Pora
Nošara
Mataṅgana
Mitapâṇi
Mādha
Atsimi
Pakśili
Dhamdhori
Kiṭuhar
Bhaṭhurvar
Paṭhapaṃge
Mutadni
Kapola
Kandhahar
Hasonogar
Paruka
Nasbhala
Sik'ir
Momolavajra
Sithar
Bhysahura
Hasonagar again
Paruba (before Paruka)
Nyapala

sTag ts'aṅ ras pa
Apuka
Killitila
Sikir
Momolavajra
Sinora
Pelahar
Muthilli
Muṣambi
Muthikṣi
Mahâtilli
Satâhulda
Kalabhyatsi
Saṅgiladhuba
Goṭhaiaśakam
Pass

3 days

Dsomok'ati where all the waters of Orgyan meet

5 days

Yalom pelom

5 days

K'arakśar

3 days

Râyiśar

3 days

Rahorbhyara (Maṅgalaor)
Râyiśar again

1 day

Oḍiyāna (Dhumat'ala)
Kamalabir mountain
Maṅgalapaṇi
Oḍiyâna again
Râyiś'ar
Midora
K'aragśar
Sandhibhor
Kavoka

sTag ts'aṅ ras pa
Bhyatsabhasabhasor
5 days
Sindhu
Radsahura (not far from Atike)
2 days
Nîla
Kamthe
Nepale
Nila'u
Laṅka
Horaña
Aśakamni
Mahatsindhe
Ghelamri
6 days
Gorśala
2 days
Kalpa
Rukâla
Rahorbuṇḍa
Ravata
Satā
Hati
Tsiru
Rutâ
Dselom
Sara
Bhebar
Nošǎra
Ratsuga
3 days
Lithana
Pirbañtsa
2 days
Kashmir
Varan
Maṭe
10 days
Zansdkar
Maryul

As to the names of places, they are in general, no more accurate in sTag ts'aṅ than in Orgyan pa; many of them have lost their somewhat archaic forms often purely Sanskritic and have become more or less similar to modern names; Jalandhara is also registered as Kangarkot, Malakot has become Malot, Orgyan is Kapur and so on. Whereas in Orgyan pa the Mongols are usually called Sog po or Hor, *viz.*, the traditional Tibetan names for Mongols and Turks in sTag ts'aṅ they are known regularly as Mongol and as Pathan, though in his writings Pathan seems to have occasionally assumed the meaning of '*jagpa*' *viz.*, robber.

But as regards Kashmir, the names are so like the modern ones that doubt may arise whether they have not been by chance given this shape in quite recent times, by some learned Lama of Hemis on the occasion of the reprint of the itinerary. One might think that to the same elaboration of the text are also perhaps due the dialogues in Hindi often inserted in the book, and which seem to have a quite modern turn. But certain forms as kindly suggested to me by my friend S. K. Chatterjee are now obsolete and point to an early stage of Hindi *hami*, *tumi*, *roṭi velā khai*, etc.

I subjoin two examples:

fol. 10—When sTag ts'aṅ escapes slavery in Momolavajra and is saved by a Brahmin in Sithar, the following dialogue

takes place between the Tibetan pilgrim and that Brahmin (fol. 10, b):—

	Hindi	Translation of the Tibetan version
sT.	Hami bhoṭanti dsogi huva	I am a Tibetan ascetic (Tib. rtogs ldan).
Br.	Kaśimiri bha (corr. bho) ṭanti aya	Are you a Tibetan from Kashmir?
sT.	Hami Kaśimiri nahi; hamara mahā tsinna huva Kaśimiri thibanṭa pari daśa masi nighaya hayi	I am not a Kashmiri: I am from (the province of dBus and gTsaṅ) beyond Kashmir; I left after ten months (journey).

When he meets the old Brahmin who with his caravan leads him to Rukāla (fol. 8, a).

	Hindi	Translation of the Tibetan version
Br.	Tu mi abo cham bheśa roṭi vela k'ahi kyi na hi	You come here; sit here, do you eat bread or not?
sT.	K'ahi k'ahi	I do eat it.
Br.	Hami bramze huva; tumi t'orra bh'yat'a saṅgi rdono ho dsa	I am a Brahmin, wait a moment. Let us go together.

The comparison of the two itineraries is also interesting from many other points of view. It shows that at the time of Orgyan pa Islamic invasion had not yet completely destroyed the last traces of Buddhism and Hinduism. We find, in the account of his travels, hints of survival of small Hindu principalities in the Salt Range and in Uḍḍiyāna. As I said before, the names of places are

still recorded in a Sanskritic form as can easily be realized even through the corruption that their spelling underwent in the Tibetan manuscripts. On the other hand, when sTag ts'aṅ undertook his travels, Islam had succeeded in establishing its supremacy more or less everywhere.

As to Orgyan, it appears, from the account of the two pilgrims, that Udegram-Manglaor was considered the very core of the country along with the sacred mountain of Ilam already famous at the time of the Chinese travellers. But the kings of Orgyan did not reside there, but rather on the outskirts towards Hindustan. In the travels of Orgyan pa there is no mention of a king of Orgyan or of his capital; only a prefect is recorded as residing in a place called Kabo ko or Ka'oka, perhaps three days' march before the Karakār Pass. This prefect, to judge from his name, Rājadeva, was a Hindu or a Buddhist, certainly not a Muslim. At the time of sTag ts'aṅ ras pa the capital of Orgyan is said to be Dsamikoti which seems to have been placed along the bank of the Barandu. In fact, it was in a valley which collected the waters of the country of Orgyan, and at the same time one could reach from there the mountain Ilam in five days without crossing the Karakār Pass. This king was called Pañtsagaya. No mention is made of the religion he followed, but there is hardly any doubt that he was a Muslim, though very liberal and well disposed towards the Tibetan pilgrim.

These kings ruled therefore over a vast territory including, besides the Swât proper, even part of Buner.

There is no record, in the accounts of our pilgrims, of monks or learned people who continued the tradition of Buddhist scholarship; if he had met any, Orgyan pa would not have failed to mention his name, as he did in the case of Kashmir.

Anyhow at the time of Orgyan pa, a popular and magic form of Buddhism still survived. Witchcraft, for which Uḍḍiyāna had been famous even in the times of the Chinese pilgrims, was then in full swing. But the old traditions recorded by the Chinese travellers and centred round the figure of Śākyamuni or his preachings seem to have been forgotten or to have ceased to attract the attention of the people. The atmosphere which surrounds and inspires the pilgrims is purely *tāntric*. Śaṃvara and Guhyasamāja have become the most prominent Mahāyāna deities; the place of Śākyamuni and his disciples has been taken over by Indrabhūti and Kambalapā. These facts quite agree with the revival of *Tāntric* Buddhism in the Swāt valley which was chiefly due to the work of Indrabhūti and his followers, a work certainly deserving greater attention than has been given to them up to now.

At the time of sTag ts'aṅ there is not the slightest trace of any survival of Buddhism but we have only the mention of ruins; even the sādhus, who were occasionally his companions of travel or whom he found in the country, do not seem to have been Buddhist since they belonged to the sect of the Nāthapanthīyas.

PART II

Translation of the itinerary of Orgyan pa

Setting out from gDoṅ dmar in Pu raṅs[1] in half a day we[2] reached the north door of Tise,[3] the king of glaciers, and started meditating among a crowd of five hundred ascetics (*ras pa*).[4] Then we drunk the water of the (Lake) Map'am.[5]

Then we arrived at Kulu (Ku lu ṭa) and Maru[6] which respectively correspond to the knees and the toes of the Vajra-body divided into twenty-four great places.

1 Pu raṅs is the eastermost province of Western Tibet. At the time of Orgyan pa it was under independent chiefs of the lDe family. See G. TUCCI, *Rin c'en bzan po—Indo-Tibetica*, II, pp. 16, 22 and TUCCI-GHERSI, *Secrets of Tibet*, p. 251. As to gDoṅ dmar, it is unknown to me.

2 *Viz.*, Orgyan pa and his companion dPal ye.

3 *Viz.*, Kailāsa; *Ti se* is the aboriginal name of Kailāsa; perhaps this name is to be related with *Te se* known in Tibetan demonology as one of the nethern spirits (*sa bdag*). According to the Bonpos, the mountain is sacred to *Gi K'od* or rather to the *Gi k'ods* because, in some Bonpo manuscripts I found that the Gi k'ods are 360. The Buddhists consider the Kailāsa as the mystic palace of bDe mc'og, *viz.*, Śaṃvara: upon Śaṃvara see G. TUCCI, *Indo-Tibetica*, III, II.

4 *Ras pa, viz.*, "a person wearing cotton clothes" is a common designation for all ascetics though it is specially applied to the *grub t'ob* of the *bKa' rgyud pa* sect.

5 Ma p'am or Ma p'aṅ is the name for Manosarovar; it is also called: *gyu ts'o* "turquoise-lake." from the colour of its waters, or: *ma dros pa*=anavatapta.

6 S. LÉVI proposed to identify Maru with Chitral. From our

At that time we did in one day the road which to an ordinary man takes seven days, without relenting or being tired either in body or in spirit.[7] In this place a female *Kṣetrapāla* dropping pus and blood from the nose, said (to us): "First of all do not abide in front of the master. Then do not abide in the middle of thy companions. I stay here; I will procure (your) maintenance."

Then I thought that somehow I could go to Orgyan.[8]

Then during the hot months[9] we resided in the great mountain called Garṇaṭama[10] where many good medicinal plants grow; there are also five miraculous springs. At that place there was an Indian ascetic called "the Vulture," who was considered to be good in discussing (religious matters). Since I also explained thoroughly the doctrines of the various vehicles, all the ascetics who lived there were pleased.

accounts it seems that the Tibetan tradition, which must have some weight since it depends upon Indian data, located that country near Kulu. It must refer here to the Upper Chandrabhāgā Valley, bordering Champā; Maru, according to the Vaṃśāvali of the Chambā kings, is the reviver of the solar race and practically the founder of the royal lineage of Chambā. See VOGEL, *Antiquities of the Chambā State*, I, pp. 81 and 91.

7 This refers to a special *yoga* practised by some Tibetan ascetics which is believed to develop the capacity of running at great speed. Those who practise this meditation are called, as we saw, *rluṅ p'a*.

8 Orgyan pa took that girl for a ḍākini.

9 For *dbyar ka*—summer, or *dbyar be*—jyaiṣṭha: April-May.

10 Garnaṭama cannot be located by me.

Then, along with many Indian ascetics, we went to Jalandhara[11] corresponding to the top of the head of the twenty-four places (of the Vajra-body).

At that place there is a great town called Nagarkete (*viz.*, Nagarkoṭ). In a river there is a triangular[12] piece of land; digging of the soil there is forbidden: there is a cemetery[13] called Lan gura, where there is a boulder which looks like a skull; a self-made (image) of[14] Āryabhaṭṭārikā appears there. To the north there is a famous image called Jvālāmukhī where on looking[15] at the divine face everything blazes in fire. Near the royal palace there is a cemetery called Miṭapara where there is a cave of the Mahātmā Nāgārjuna called Miṭaglupa. In front of it there is one of the eight kinds of trees called Nilavṛkṣa.[16] If you hurt it you die immediately. So he said.

11 In the MSS. Dsva rar. As to this place see above p. 21 *Cf.*—HUTCHINSON & VOGEL—*History of the Panjab Hill States*.

12 C'os lbyun in this sense is not in the dictionaries but the glosses of Tson K'a pa on the Guhyasamājatikā by Candrakirti, fol. 93,6b—clearly states that it is a synonym of *zur gsum*—"*triangle*".

13 The correction *dur k'rod* for *k'rod* as in the manuscript is sure: rGod ts'an pa and sTag ts'an refer to the same place as a famous cemetery. So also Orgyan pa himself in this same page when he relates the story of the *gaṇacakra* which he and his companions held in this place (*Lagyura yi dur k'rod*).

14 *Ran byon* for the more frequent: *ran ḅbyun*: self-born.

15 *bstan=mig lta ba*.

16 According to the Tāntric tradition, each cemetery is possessed of its peculiar characteristics, *viz.*, its own tree, its protecting deity, its *nāga*, etc. The lists from Sanskrit and Tibetan sources are given in *Indo-Tibetica*, III, II, p. 173ff.

From that mountain, travelling one month we
went to the south;
In the royal palace of the country of Jalandhara
There is a great bazaar where (one finds) goods
(meeting) all wishes.
I was not able to carry away any handsome good.

After twenty days' march from Jalandhara we reached a river running from Ghaṭali[17] called Chandrabhāgā on whose banks there is the town of Indranīla.

To the east there is the plain of rGya skyags.[18] One night we met (*lit.* there was) a woman who was putting, while singing, many weapons into a bag.[19] Next morning we met four Tartar horsemen and I was hit by one of them with the back of an axe; since I withstood him violently, he dragged me for half a day by the scarf I used in my ascetic exercises,[20] kicked me in the chest and, then, I lost the sight. But at that time I collected the vital force (*prāṇa*) and the mental force in the wheel of the *bindu* and I let them go into the central vein.[21]

17 Ghaṭali is perhaps Gandhola referred to above in whose proximity the Chandra and Bhāga meet.

18 Unidentified, but perhaps a translation of *Bhārata*.

19 According to Orgyan pa this woman must have been a ḍākiṇī for telling the impending danger.

20 *Sgom t'ag*, *yogapaṭṭa*, the scarf used by ascetics for fastening together their limbs in some of the most difficult yoga-postures.

21 Orgyan pa refers to a Haṭha-yoga practice of preserving the vital force; mind-stuff, *sems*, (Skr. *citta*) is believed to have *prāṇa* with its five-fold principal aspects as its vehicle. In the moments of deep meditation this mind-stuff is made to enter in the central vein (*avadhūti*,

dPal ye[22] thought that I was dead. Then, restored to my strength, I made a great noise and I overpowered him with the exorcistic magnetising look, so that he was unable to speak and began to tremble. All our companions said that I was a *siddha*.

From Intanila (*viz.*, Indranila) we reached Bhrarmila[23] in one day; from there we went to Sila. Then we arrived at a town of the Mongols whose name I have forgotten. From this place upwards Indians are mixed with Tartars. Some are Hindus (that is, people of India); some are Musurman (that is, Tartars); some being fused together and living in the plains are equally called Mo go la.

At that place there is a river flowing from Kashmir;[24] we forded it and reached a town called Brahora[25] of 7,000,000 inhabitants (sic). The prefect of the town is a Tartar Malik Kardarina by name. One day's march from this town, there is a hill full of mineral salt; it is called

cāṇḍāli or *madhyamā*) which is supposed to run from the top of the head to the *adhiṣṭhānacakra*, *viz.*, to the wheel under the navel; *a t'un* "short *a*" is considered to be the symbol of the germinal consciousness as present in ourselves.

22 dPal ye is, as we saw the companion of Orgyan pa.

23 According to the copy used by sTag ts'an Varanila. As to Sila (sTag ts'an: Hila) it may correspond to Helān.

24 *Viz.*, the Jhelum—the town of which this pilgrim has forgotten the name is perhaps *Mong* or Haria.

25 The only big place on the route followed by Orgyan pa seems to be Pindi Dadan Khan which formerly was one of the biggest salt-markets; of course the number of inhabitants is exaggerated. Naugiri must be searched for in the proximity of Khewra mines.

Nalcugri; the salt (used in) Kashmir, Malo'o Ghodsar, Dhokur, Jālandhara[26] is taken from there. Many salt merchants come from this place even to Jālandhara. The big road to these salt-mines offers very little danger since one finds plenty of food, many companions and there are, usually, many bazaars. So he related.

From there we reached in one day Bhahola.[27]
From the river (which flows in that place) we
went to the west for one day's march.
There is a mountain of mineral salt called
Nacutri.[28]
I did not carry away a bit of salt.
So he said.

Then, in one day, we went to Malakoṭe[29] where we begged (food) from the queen (*rāṇi*) of that place, Bhuja-

26 Malo'o is Malot, Ghodsar is Gujrat.

27 Evidently the same as Brahora on the river.

28 The same as Naugiri.

29 Malot. Its temples are well known. For references see V. A. SMITH, *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, 2nd Edition—p. 119. COOMARASWAMY, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 74 and 143. It is difficult to state why Malot is called the "gate of the ocean"; perhaps this was due to the fact of there being some important market to which caravans used to carry goods from the sea and the Indus mouth.

As to Hulagu it can hardly be, in spite of the similarity of spelling, the famous emperor who was almost a contemporary of our pilgrim: the temple alluded to must be a Hindu temple, as is proved by the statement of sTag ts'aṅ ras pa that it was destroyed by the Moghuls; according to *Archæological Report*, V, p. 185 it was founded by the Kauravas and Paṇḍavas.

devi by name,[30] and she gave us food, provisions and clothes. That place is famous as "the gate of the ocean, mine of jewels." There is a temple founded by king Hulahu. There great plants of rtse bo[31] grow.

Then three days' march to the west[31a]
In the town of Malakoṭa,
There is the gate of the mine of jewels (the ocean)
He did not carry away even a bundle of medical
All sorts of trees grow from the earth.
herbs.
So he said.

There we went for five days to the north-west to the town of Rukala.[32] There a queen,[33] Somadevi by name, gave us provisions for the travel. Then in four days we reached Rajahura which is one of the four gates to Orgyan. The other three gates are Nila,[33b] Purso, Kacoka.

In Rajahura we went for alms; but as soon as we thought of eating (what we had collected), all fruits turned into ants and into worms. I showed it to dPal ye who felt nausea and was unable to eat. Winking the eyes I

30 Or shall we understand Bhojadeva? Rāṇi can also be a mistake for Rāṇā.

31 *rTse bo*, viz., *rtse po*; *rtse po* is, according to Sarat Chandra Das, a plant called in Indian texts *kaṇṭakāri*.

31a But, in the prose section, they reached Maloṭ in one day only.

32 Rupwal: Nila is about ten miles to the north-west of this town.

33 Either rāṇā Somadeva or rāṇi Somadevi.

33b Perhaps the same as *Nila* on the Soan River to the east of Pindi Gheb.

said "eat" and the rest of what I had been eating turned into fruits and grapes. But he did not feel the inconvenience of being without food and was not able (to partake of that).[34]

So he related.

To the west of this town there flows the river Sindhu. It is one of the four rivers flowing (from the Kailāsa) and it springs forth from the mouth of a lion in the Kailāsa.[35] It flows through Maryul[36] and then, from the country of ḥBruša[37] on the North of Kashmir (which country borders on Zaṅsdkar and Purig),[38] through Persia[39] reaches Urgyan.

Taking hold of one another's hand we went to the ford of the Sindhu. I entered a boat and asked the boat-

34 The translation of this passage is doubtful.

35 *Cf. Indo-Tibetica* I, p. 80. That is why the Indus is called by the Tibetans: *Seṅ ge k'a ḥbab.*

36 Maryul is Ladakh; I have shown elsewhere (INDO-TIBETICA II, p. 15 that though in recent times Mañyul has been also used for *Maryul,* originally Maṅ yul was a district to the east of Purang on the borderland between Tibet and Nepal. It has been stated but I think on very poor grounds that the so-called Mo lo so (WATTERS—*On Yuan Chwan's travels* I, p. 299) corresponds to Ladakh; but the form Mar po suggested by Cunningham does not exist, at least to my knowledge.

37 ḥBruša is Gilgit. LAUFER—*Die Bruza Sprache.*

38 Purig is the district of Kargil.

39 Stag gzig corresponds, as known to Tajig and is the usual name for Persia or Persian: of course Persia in our text refers to *Chilas* and must be understood in a broad sense as the countries depending upon Persia. This passage and the following statement point to the fact that the name of Orgyan was not confined to the Swāt valley, but included part of Buner and, roughly speaking, the territory between the Swāt and the Indus.

man to pull the boat, but this man said: "No objection, (but) on the other side of the river they say there are Turks; there is fear of being killed." I replied that I was not afraid of dying and he pulled the boat. From this place upwards there is the country of Urgyan; there are 90,000 towns, but no other place there except Dhumat'ala[40] is called Urgyan. At that time Urgyan had been just conquered by the Turks. So he related.

Having forded that river, there is (a town) called Kalabur. We reached there at sunset; all inhabitants, men as well as women, thinking that we were Turks, began to hit us with stones; then we took shelter among some trees and they, saying that that night we could not go anywhere else, departed. But that very night a great storm broke out and we ran away unnoticed from the village.

He said that in the interior of Urgyan there were Persians. Then we met (*lit.* there were) a husband and wife who, running away from the Turks and returning home, drove cows and sheep, carrying with them a small child. We said to them: "We are two Tibetan monks going on pilgrimage to Urgyan. Let us join you and accompany you as far as Dhumat'ala."[40a] Then I carried the child and

40 This implies the equivalence of Dhumat'ala, often spoken of in the Padmasambhava literature, with Orgyan; the name of Orgyan. Uḍḍiyāna still survives in the village Udegram, the Ora of the Greek authors I, upon which see SIR AUREL STEIN—*On Alexander's track to the Indus*. *Cf.* also down below sTag ts'an's itinerary.

40a *Tu the nes.* Humatà la.

drove the cattle..................Having forded the Sindhu we went to Bhik'robhasa; then in one day's march we reached Kaboko.[41] In this town all people have a virtuous mind and a great wisdom. There are provisions in great quantities and mines of carminium. Its prefect is called Rājadeva; he is the master of the greatest part of Urgyan.

One month to the west of that town[41a]
(To the west of the ford on the river Sindhu
There is the town of Ka'oka
Where there are mines of carminium
But he was unable to carry away even a bit of it.
So he said.

Then that liberal master gave in the country an entertainment and sent us a man to accompany us up to Bhonele, distant one day's march and, (as to the towns) beyond that place, (he gave us) a letter to lead us safely up to the holy place of Dhumat'ala (in which he had written): "Let them be accompanied by such and such to such and such places." From Bhonele we reached Siddhabhor and then, having forded a small river, we went in one day to K'aragk'ar.[42] From this place upwards they say there is

41 That the river Sindhu had been crossed has already been said: Bhik'robhasa was not named; but in its place mention was made of Kalabur: This implies that Bhik'sobha sa was considered the first important place after having crossed the Indus Kabuko seems as Ka co ka—mentioned at p. 45.

41a *Viz.*, Makoe.

42 This small river seems to be the Barandu while K'aragk'ar must be a village in the proximity of the Karākar pass.

the boundary.[43] There are good rice and wheat, and various kinds of good fruits get ripe; there are always trees like the neck of the peacock.

(The country) is covered by soft herbs and by flowers of every kind of colour and smell; there is a river running through Urgyan called Kodambhar. To the east there is the mountain Ilo[44] which is the foremost of all mountains of the Jambudvipa. There is no medical herb growing on the earth, which does not grow there. It is charming on account of its herbs, stalks, leaves and flowers. Sarabhas and other antelopes wander there quite freely. There are many gardens of grape, beautiful birds of every kind and of gracious colours make a deep chattering.

From that country we went to the west for seven days,
Up to the mountain Ilo, the peak of K'aragk'ar
In the mountain, Sarabhas play
And there are gardens of grape in abundance.
I did not covet any thing
Then, on one day we reached Rayik'ar[45] which is

43 I am not quite sure that this is the rendering of : *so t'an.*

44 This mountain has already been referred to by the Chinese pilgrims by whom it was called Hi lo. FOUCHER (BEFEO, 1901, p. 368, n. 3) was the first to identify Hilo with the Ilam. *Cf.* also A. STEIN *On Alexander's track*, p. 27 ff.

45 This place seems to be Saidu; on this locality and its archæological importance see A. STEIN—*op. cit.*, *pp.* 36-39. It is called Ray-śar by sTag ts'an. While here there is no mention of any intermediary stage between Rayik'ar and Manoglaor vaguely stated to be in the north and no notice therefore of Udegram=Dhumat'ala on the other hand down below it is rightly said that leaving Rayik'ar they reached in half a day

said to have been the capital of King Indrabhote.[46] Now it is divided into two towns: in one there are about sixty houses, in the other about forty. To the north there is a temple founded by king Indraboti and called Mangalaor, where there are various images in stone of Buddha (munindra), Tārā and Lokeśvara.

When I saw from afar the country of Urgyan my (good) inclinations became very strong. In these places as soon as any common realization is experienced various P'ra men ma[47] flesh-eating *ḍākinīs*, come privately in front of (the experiencer) as a spouse. Near Rayik'ar there is a small river; it can be forded by a man and it runs to the south. Having forded it (one finds) in a protuberance of a rock the place where the great Siddha Lāvapā used to stay. A Ḍākini let a shower of stones fall upon that (place), but Lāvapā showed the *tarjanīmudrā* and the stones remained in the sky just as a tent .[48] The Ācārya turned with his powers the ḍākiṇīs into sheep so that in that country all women disappeared;[48a] the men assembled, went to their search but could not get (them). Then the Ācārya

Dhumat'ala. This last statement is of course quite correct Manglaor should have been mentioned after Dhumat'ala.

46 *Viz.*, Indrabhūti the famous tantric teacher and the spiritual father, according to the Tibetan tradition, of Padmasambhava.

47 On these P'ra men ma, who were a special class of *yogini* see Tucci—*Indo-Tibetica* III, I, pp. 126.

48 Upon the local industry of rags *kambala* see Stein—*Op. cit.*, p. 89.

48a Because, in this country, women were all considered to be ḍākinīs.

shaved all the sheep and wore upon his body a woollen mantle (*lva; kambala*): from this he was called Lāvapa, *viz.*, "the man of the woollen mantle."[49]

Then they went to make homage to him and asked him to let them free. He asked: "Do you make an engagement?" They agreed. Then he said: "Wear the shoes upon the head; insert a ring in the nose; use (*lit.* make) a girdle (in the shape of) a snake." This has become the custom of the country up to now.

A woman there said to me: "You are Indrabhoti." My disciple Śes rin asked: "Indrabhoti and Lāvapa did not live at a different time?" I said: "Lāvapa was not contemporary with the great (Indrabodhi). There were two Indrabodhis; I am like the Younger." So he related.[50]

Near Rayik'a there is the country of the P'ra men 'ma); all women know how to turn themselves by magical art into any form they want; they like flesh and blood and have the power to deprive every creature of its vitality and its strength. Then, in half a day we arrived at Dhumat'ala.[51] This is the core of the miraculous country or Urgyan. By the mere view of this country our cries

49 This story is also related in the biography of the 84 Siddhas—Grünwedel—*Die Geschichten der 84 Zauberer*, p. 176 f. and *Edelstein mine*, p. 56 ff. See also the account of sTag t'san ras pa. But our text is rather obscure.

50 All this passage seems to be a gloss or a later addition by some pupil of Orgyan pa. That there was more than one Indrabhūti is also accepted by Tāranātha, *Edelsteinmine*, p. 109.

51 *Viz.*, as we saw Orgyan, Uḍḍiyana, Udegrama.

(of joy) could not be counted. In front of it there is a self-appeared (image) of Āryabhaṭṭārikā in sandal wood; it is called Maṅgaladevi.

I slept before it and I perceived that some trouble (*lit.* hindrance) was to come. I asked dPal ye to prepare a stick but he would not hear. Next morning he went to three hamlets to the north and I went to the south to collect alms. I met some women who threw flowers upon me and put a dot of vermilion (on my forehead) making various symbols taught by the Tantras; so that my powers increased and my vitality greatly developed. But he[52] was surrounded by an armed crowd which was on the point of killing him; I ran to his rescue and when I said that he was my companion, they let him free. In this place there are about five hundred houses. All women know the art of magic and if you ask them:, "Who are you ?," they reply:. "We are yoginīs." While I was lying down in front of Maṅgaladevi, one woman said (to me): "Enjoy a woman", but I hit her with a stick and she ran away. The day after a woman met us both with incense and scattered flowers upon us and honoured us. It was the gift for having kept that gem which are the moral rules. In this place there is a woman who has three eyes; another has a mark manifest on her forehead, *viz.*, the coil of a *svastika* red as if designed with vermilion. She said:, "I am a self-made yogini. I can make everything appear in view."

52 *Viz.*, dPal Ye.

Then a Tartar said: "If you are a self-made yoginī, bring something from my country", and she immediately produced a bow and a Turkish hat, so that the Tartar was amazed. He said that this woman was the wife of the king of Dhumatala.[53]

Among the women of this town there is one who is said to be a yoginī. Since it was difficult to recognise her, I took food from the hands of all women of the town and by eating it I surely got spiritual perfections from them. In the town of Kaboka[54] I took food from a woman called Saluṇṭapuca and as soon as I drank a cup of soup (given by her), the place began to tremble.........

The great yoginīs famous in this place are four: Soni, Gasuri, Matangi, Tasasi.

Soni is (the ḍākinī known in Tibet as) ḥGro bzaṅ.[55]

To the west of this place there is a snow (mountain) called Kamacoṅka[56] where they say that there is the palace of the yoginīs: in its interior there is a cave for ascetics called Kamalagupta; where there is the image of a Krodha of blue colour, with ornaments made of human bones; it has three eyes and is shining with splendour like

53 rGyu ma tala is a mis-spelling for Dhumat'ala.

54 It must be the same as the place already mentioned at p. 47. Though that town does not belong to the very centre of Orgyan which the pilgrim now describes, it is referred to again as being also a centre of those ḍākiṇis whose powers Orgyan pa here praises.

55 The ḍākiṇi ḥGro bzaṅ is famous all over Tibet. Her *rnam t'ar* or biography belongs to the most popular Tibetan literature.

56 But down below in the verse-section Kamadhoka.

the rays of the sun: he has (in his hands) a sword and a skull.

dPalye thought that it represented Saṃvara.

To the east of this place there is a cemetery called Bhirsmasa,[57] crowded by terrific assemblages as (thick as) clouds of dangerous ḍākinīs (in the shape of) boars, poisonous snakes, kites, crows and jackals.

A little to the north there is one of the eight kinds of trees called *okaśavṛkṣa*. A little to the south of that cemetery there is a self-made (image) in stone of a Kṣetrapāla, called Dhumunkhu. In proximity of that tree, on a stone called Kapalabhojon; there are self-made images in stone of Brahmā, Rudra and other deities. There, there is a palm-tree which is called Maṅgalavṛkṣa, that is "the auspicious tree." In its proximity a spring called Maṅgalapāṇi; (that is, the auspicious water) runs to the south.[58]

To the east of this there is a small mountain called Śriparvata where many trees of *seṅldaṅ*[59] grow. To the west of this, in the rivulet Maṅgalapāṇi there is a piece of land of triangular shape called Mulasaikoṭa; (?) there, there is (an image) of Āryabhaṭṭārikā spontaneously appeared. But now fearing the Tartar soldiers she stays in Dhumat'ala.

57 *Viz.*, *Bhirasmaśāna*.

58 Perhaps the same as the tree and the source alluded to by Sun yung. p. 410, as being near the footprints of the Buddha. If this is the case, the places here mentioned must be near Tirāt.

59 Perhaps *Khadira*, Acacia Catechu.

In front of it many women assemble and worship it ejaculating "kilitsili."[60] Those who are deprived of strength or humiliated are (thereby) favoured (by becoming) fortunate.

This is the principal of the twelve Śrīparvatas of India. On its border there is a valley known as the valley of Śrī. While I was sleeping for some days in a temple built by Indrabodhi at the gate of Urgyan, many ḍākinīs assembled and preached the law. This is the very miraculous country of Urgyan.

From that country he went to the west for four
days;
To the west of the "stone without touch"
To the north of the river Kodambari
To the east of the glacier Kamadhoka
There is the miraculous country of Urgyan
The ḍākinīs of the three places assuming human
shape
Give enjoyments of inexhaustible pleasure.
But I did not seek for great enjoyments.
So he said.

In the miraculous country of Dhumat'ala there is the benediction of the Blessed one.

He said: "The individuals who are proficient (*lit.* good) in the Tantras, masculine as well as feminine,[61] obtain the instructions of the Ḍākiṇi of the three places.

60 *Kili-tsili* is a Mantra used in many a tantric ritual.

61 This refers to a twofold division of the Buddhist Tantras into

Wherefrom the spiritual connection with the deep road can be arrived at?."

Then dPalye said: "I believe (in all this), (but) let us go back to Tibet." I replied: "From a country far away I reached this place without considering (the risk of) my life and I obtained a great benefit; the best could be to lay the head down here; if this is impossible, at least I want to abide here, at any rate, for three years." Then he said, "Even if you do not want to depart, (at least) accompany me up to Rajahura." So we went. Our companions who seemed to be merchants said to me, "This friend of yours does not understand the language and will not get any alms. Without you this man is lost." Then I thought that it was a shame to leave in the way, among difficulties, a friend who had come to a holy place from a country far away and a fellow disciple of the same *guru*;[62] going downwards, we reached in five days (a place called) Ghari. Then in seven days we reached Urśar.[63] Then, having as companions some merchants we arrived to the gate of a terrific cemetery. When they saw it they were greatly afraid and said, "Ghosts will come and men will die." I said, "Do not fear. I can protect you from the ghosts"; and then by the blessing of Daṇḍa[63a] nothing happened.

feminine and masculine (literally 'mother' and 'father'), according as the medium of their experiences is the *prajñā* or the *upāya*.

62 *Viz.*, rGod ts'aṅ pa.

63 Uraśā, *viz.*, Hazara.

63a Perhaps Niladaṇḍa.

From that place we went to the east for seven
days;
A terrific cemetery is to the south.
In the fortunate kingdom of Urśar
There is corn and no (land)lord, (so that) anybody
can carry it away.
But I did not carry away a single grain.

Then, after three days, we arrived at Tsi k'ro ta;[64] there is a great river (coming out) from a rock in the mountain. There a merchant, being inflamed by a disease, began to fight, killed two (of his) companions and wounded another. Then I evoked the meditation of Guhyapati and overpowered him by the magic look; so that he immediately died; otherwise by fighting at close quarters they would have killed each other. So he related.

Then in one day we reached Ramikoṭi. On the other side of the river (which runs there) there is Rasmiśvari[65]

64 Perhaps in the proximity of Mozufferabad (is there any connection between Tsi K'rota and Charrota near this place?). The river along which the pilgrims reach Kashmir referred to lower down is obviously the Vitastā.

65 Rāmeśvara, as known, was and still is a famous *piṭha* in South India, but in this Tantric cosmography, as accepted by the Tibetan writers, it has been located in the Western Himālayas which are supposed to comprehend the whole of the Vajrakāya—See *Indo-Tibetica* III, II, p. 43 sqq. I cannot identify this Rāmeśvara referred to even by sTag ts'ii ras pa; it is anyhow clear that it has no relation with the Rāmāśrama which was a *piṭha* in Kashmir and the Sanskritised name of Rāmuch (Ramuṣa) referred to in Nilamatapurāṇa and in the Rājataraṅgini. See A. Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Chronicle of Kashmir.* This place is on the road from Supiyan to Śrinagar near Shozkroo.

(one of) the twenty-four places (of the Vajrakāya) which corresponds to the space between the eyebrows of the Vajrakāya. There the space between the river coming from Kashmir and the water of a pond is similar in shape to the eyebrows.

Thence four days' march to the east;
there is a place (called) Rasmiśvari
in the house of the village they nursed (him) and boiled wine
but he did not carry away a single barley-paste ball.

(Marching) to the right of the river (flowing) from Kashmir after nine days we arrived at a narrow valley called rDorjemula[66] and then reached Kashmir.

The surface (of this country) is flat like the palm of the hand and charming, stretching from east to west; in the north there is a lake pure as the sky, called Kamapara;[67] (the place) is lovely on account of the beautiful flowers; it is thickly covered with excellent trees bent (under the weight of) their ripe fruits; it is adorned by all sorts of ripe crops, and furnished with every kind of riches. It is a mine of knowledge sprung forth from that gem which is the teaching of Śākyamuni; every creature practises the

66 rDorje mūla (lower down 'Varamula') is a curious name half Tibetan and half Sanskritic: it evidently derives from a vernacular form of Varāhamula (now Baramula) where the first part of the word was taken by Orgyan pa as a corruption of Vajra.

67 Kamapara is perhaps a corruption of Kamalasara = Wular lake

white dharmas. It is the place to which refer the prophecy of the Prajñāpāramitā when it says:

"it is the abode of many Buddhist *paṇḍitas*."

From there (we went) to Śrinagara a town of three million and six hundred thousand inhabitants; having been ravaged by the Mongols now (they have been reduced) to no more than three millions.[68] Then we went to Vatipur[69] where the saffron grows. Then we arrived at Bhejibhara,[70] which counts nine hundred thousand inhabitants. There he asked many sacred Mantras of Saṃvara and other Tantras of ḥBum mi Śri la[71] and of other Paṇḍitas. As they entered the town for alms many children began to hit them with bricks; but two girls saved them, led them into a house but gave them no food.

Then, came an old man who was the householder and (said to us) "If you do not stay (in my house) one day, it will be a shame to me." Then, having paid homage to us, he asked: "Who are you?" We replied "We are religious men from Tibet and have gone on pilgrimage to Urgyan." They felt some doubts and called for student who asked: "If you are men of the law, what kind of law do you know?"

68 The number is, as usual, exaggerated.

69 Vatipur down below: Varipur is a corruption for Avantipur; this statement anyhow is not exact, because saffron-fields are to be found only near Pampur.

70 Vijayajeśvara now Bij-behāra, Bijbiara.

71 Bhūmiśila?

Since I replied that I knew the Abhidharma (*mṅon pa*), we commented together upon logic and he agreed that it was true (that I knew the law).

Then he asked: "Besides this system, what else do you know?" When I said: "The Kālacakra" he replied: "It is false," and was amazed.[72] I insisted that it was true; then they called a student in order to see whether I had said the truth or not and after discussing the pint he recognised that I was a learned man. Then they sent for an old man who could recite by heart the Vimalaprabhā;[73] the husband was famous as a learned man all over Kashmir. I discussed with the wife and got myself out fairly well.

The lady said: "O learned man, what (else) do you know or have heard."

I replied: "I have thrown away all objects of knowledge as grass and having gone to Urgyan and to other holy places I have forgotten (everything)." Then they agreed that I really was a Tibetan paṇḍit and were pleased. Since I was made known by the name of "Mongol" which I had formerly been given by that boy, the king as soon as he was aware (of this fact) sent some policemen to catch me and from midnight to the day-light (my host) said to the king that I belonged to another reli-

72 The Kālacakra is still considered in Tibet as one of the most difficult Tantric systems.

73 This is the commentary upon the Kālacakra; it is being edited by my pupil Doctor M. Carelli and myself in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

gion and was not a Mongol. But he did not listen to him. Then the others having relinquished my protector, my protector said: "It is better to escape." Then, wearing Kashmiri dress we went to a ford of a big river, (but we found there) a group of about thirty Indian guards who said: "The men whom we want are here," caught hold of us, and took off our dress. We asked: "What will be done to us?" "You will be led to the presence of the king and killed; until that, there is nothing to do."—"If we are to be killed before the king, we should be happy to die here."

Then turning downwards we laid the head on the crossed arms and slept; (then they said: "While they stay here, let us go to eat") and they went away.

We ran away very quickly without touching as it were the earth; but, since a great wind-storm arose, even our traces were not visible. Then, restraining our breath, we went to a river which was running very slowly and with great facility without sinking as it were in the water, we reached the other shore. That day we stayed with some young shepherds who happened to be there and in the night we slept in a heap of grass; in the morning we went for alms and somebody gave us some worn clothes.

From that place after one month to the east
We went to Varipur steadfast throne of Kashmir;
in its fields the saffron grows
but I did not carry away even a pistil of that flower.

When we reached a pass on the way from Kashmir among a crowd of women wearing furred coats, there walked about five hundred women who had the hair loose on the back. They asked, "Wherefrom do you come? Whereto are you going?" I replied: "We come from Urgyan and go to sBud bkra."[74] "O great man, your enterprise is fulfilled." So they said, and suddenly disappeared. Afterwards the mK'an po bsGrub riṅ asked me if those women were ḍākini of that time, and I agreed that they looked so.

Then we reached Jālandhara and after a few days some Kashmiri merchants happened to be there, and asked us: "Where do you come from?" "We are Tibetan monks gone on pilgrimage to Urgyan. On the way back we came to Kashmir and your king (wanted to) kill us both." They looked astonished and said: "Perhaps you are a *siddha*. When the king sent some men to catch you, a kind of rainbow in the sky gradually vanished."

Greatly astonished they made me great honour and many offerings and I began to be famous even in Jālandhara as a monk from Tibet who had gone on pilgrimage to Urgyan and had got there miraculous powers.

Then we went to Maryul.[75]

74 The residence of rGod ts'aṅ pa.

75 The short-way for going to Maryul (Ladakh) would have been to cross the Zoji la; I cannot understand why they took the long way to Kangra and Lāhul.

PART III

TRAVELS OF STAG TS'AṄ RAS PA

(2, a) Even sTag ts'aṅ ras pa starts from Tise and through Myaṅ po ri rdsoṅ[1] and Pretapuri, a day's journey only from that place,[2] entres the province of Žaṅ žuṅ in Guge[3]—(*Žaṅ žuṅ gi yul Gu ge*[4]). He then reaches K'yuṅ luṅ[5] and after five days he halts at the bottom of the Sarang la.[5a] Having crossed this pass, he enters the

1 Myaṅ po ri rdsoṅ is in the proximity of Dulchu gompa.

2 Pretapuri is the same as Tirthapuri (see above p. 15). In the *dkar c'ag* or *māhātmya* of the monastery the name is mis-spelt as gNas tre bsta puri, an evident corruption of Tirthapuri through the colloquial Tretapuri—This māhātmya is preserved in the monastery and its title is: *gNas tre bsta puri gyi gnas yigs* (=yig) *dkar c'ag* (ms. c'ags) *gsal bai me loṅ* (ms. loṅs). Pretapuri seems to be the original name since Pretapuri is included in the list of 24 places presided by the 24 Vīras. See Tucci: *Indo Tibetica* III, part II, p. 42 *Padma Taṅ yig*, Chap. V. The place was named Pretapuri perhaps on account of the hot springs of sulphur which are to be found there and were considered as being connected with chthonian deities. On Pretapuri—, Tirthapuri see Tucci: *Santi e Briganti nel Tibet ignoto*, p. 120.

3 That points to Palkye where vast ruins are still to be seen. See Tucci: *Santi e Briganti*, p. 132.

4 On the relation between Žaṅ Žuṅ and Guge see above, p. 16.

5 K'yuṅ luṅ (the valley of Garuḍa) as I stated in the above work was a very big town, still considered by the Bonpos as one of their holiest places: mNul mk'ar "the silver castle" of K'yuṅ is still invoked in the prayers of the Bonpos.

5a I hardly think that the distance between K'yuṅ luṅ and the Sarang la can be covered in five days.

narrow valley (*roṅ*) of Ku nu and through rNam rgyal,[6] Pu, Sa, he arrives after two days at So raṅ and then sets out to K'yags;[7] in five days he reaches Su ge t'aṅ[8] and after three days more Dsva la mu khe. In the proximity, there is a warm rock which is said to have been the meditation-hut of Nāgārjuna (2, b). Then in one day, the pilgrim reaches Dsalandhara—one of the twenty-four limbs of the *vajrakāya;* it is also called by the Indians Kaṅkarkoṭ and by the Tibetans Nagarkoṭ. (2, b).

To the east of this place there is a temple in the shape of a stūpa in whose interior one can see a stone image to a helmet: it is called Mahādurkha[9] and it is said to be the abode of the goddess rDo rje p'ag mo. On the four sides there are four holes for the four magic *karma:* to the north there is a place for bloody sacrifices (*dmar mc'od*).

Even sTag ts'aṅ ras pa refers to a practice of the Hindu pilgrims mentioned by early Persian and European travellers: that on the eastern side people used to cut their tongues believing that it would grow again within three days.[10]

6 rNam rgyal is Namgyal of the maps at the bottom of the Shipki pass on the Indian side.

7 Pu is of course Poo of the maps and Sa is Sasu between Poo and Kanam. So raṅ is Sarahan, the summer residence of the rājas of Bashahr; perhaps K'yags is the same as rGya sKyags of Orgyan pa. See above, p. 44.

8 Suge t'an is, I think, Suket.

9 Mahādurgā.

10 For European and Indian references on this subject, see *History of the Panjab Hill States* by J. HUTCHINSON and J. PH. VOGEL, Vol. I, p. 110.

Then, to the south of this place, sTag ts'aṅ ras pa went to Laṅgura[11] one of the eight cemeteries with its peculiar tree; people used to offer bloody sacrifices to a Nāgavṛkṣa (*gesar*) which grows there. Not very far, there is a cave where the Tibetan ascetic rGod ts'aṅ pa spent some time in meditation. Tibetan pilgrims use to reside there: in the first month of the year, on the occasion of the holiday which commemorates the miraculous exhibitions of the Buddha all believers (*naṅ pa*)[12] of India assemble in the place and make offering.

During the festival-ceremony after the new moon *yogins* (*dso ki*), *sannyāsins*, (*se ña si*) and Tibetan pilgrims perform their worship without distinction in the royal palace. In a piece of land between two rivers, flowing in that cemetery, there is a boulder, looking like a skull, where one can see quite clearly the image of rNal ḥbyor ma.[13] sTag ts'aṅ ras pa could not accept the local tradition which saw in the stone the miraculous image of Gaṇapati with the elephant's trunk (3, a). To the north of this place there is a hillock called Kha' nu ma otre.

The king of Kaṅkarkoṭ, which is a very pleasant and fertile country and inhabited by a good-looking people, is a believer; in his family there has been an incarnation of a

11 On this cemetery, see above, p. 23.

12 For sTag ts'aṅ the word "believers" seems to include not only the Buddhists but also the Hindus as opposed to the Mohamedans.

13 *Viz.* Yogini, in this case Vajravārahi.

K'or lo sdom pa,[14] therefore, in the country there are many *sannyāsins* and *yogins*.

One day to the west of Kaṅ gar koṭ, there is Nurup'u; then the itinerary of the pilgrim runs through Srinagara, Paṭhanna, Nosara, Kathunara, Pa ru rda, Paṭhanmusur, Sakiri, Salau, Bhets'arbhura,[15] Salakau ṭhu, So ṭa ko ṭa, Gho tso ra ka; within two days from this place he reached Ba la na ga ra ti la, the residence of many *yogins*. On the southern side of a hill in its proximity one can see upon the rock the very clear miraculous image of Orgyan. That is also the place where two famous *yogins* Dsin ta pir[16] and Dsāpir disappeared into the earth.

Then he went to Kashmir of which he gives a general description very similar to that found in the Lam yig of Orgyan pa; to the west, in a piece of land between two rivers, there is Rva me śva ra[17] which corresponds to the eye-brows of the *vajrakāya*. To the east there is the stūpa of Paṅ pure[18] in the middle of a lake. That stūpa was erected in order to commemorate the miracle of the

14 *Viz.* of Cakra-Saṃvara. On this Tantric cycle see Tucci: *Indo-Tibetica* III, part II, p. 17.

15 Some places can be identified: Nurup'u is Nurpur, Paṭhanna perhaps corresponds to Pathankot, Kaṭhuhara is Kathua, Salau may correspond to Salathian; anyhow it is clear that sTag ts'aṅ went from Nurpur to Jammu and from there proceeded to Kashmir.

16 These two names seem to be mis-spelt, at least it is difficult to recognize the original form of them: the name "pir" though specially used for Mohammedan saints is also occasionally applied to Indian Sādhus.

17 See above, p. 59.

18 *Viz.* Pampur.

arhat Ñi ma guṅ pa who, sitting in meditation, overpowered the *nāgas* who wanted to disturb him; the fierce winds which they roused were unable to move even the border of his clothes, and the weapons they threw upon him turned into flowers; being unsuccessful in their attempts, they requested him to ask for whatever he wanted and he replied that he desired as much ground as was necessary for him to sit in *vajraparyaṅka* (3, b). So all the lake dried up and in the surface which thus emerged there is a town with three million and six hundred inhabitants.[19] There is also a grove, the Kashmirian residence of Nāropā.

The capital of Kashmir is a big town called Na ga ra:[20] there is a temple of the unbelievers called Bha ro ma tsi[21] which is adorned by four hundred pillars. In Palhar-sgaṅ[22] there is an image of sGrol ma inside a well. To the east there is a hill called sTagsilima[23] said to be Gru dsin.[24]

Then in one day the pilgrim reached Puspahari[25] where he stopped for seven days (4, b). Then, leaving in Kashmir his three companions suffering from fever and

19 On this legend and its source see VOGEL, *Indian Serpent-lore*, pp. 233-235.

20 Abreviation for Srinagara. 21 This is the Boromasjid.

22 I cannot identify Pa lhar sgaṅ; I suppose that it is to be identified with the Pārvati hill.

23 Takht-i-Suleiman. 24 Potala, the abode of Avalokiteśvara.

25 Also called in the Tibetan biographies of Nāropā, Marpa and Milaraspa: Phulahari: "mountain of flowers." In these older books this place seems to be located not in Kashmir but near Nālandā.

anxious to go back, he went to see the rock Senta[26] from where water runs from the fifteenth day of the fourteenth lunar mansion up to the fifteenth day of the eighteenth lunar mansion. This place corresponds to the fingers of the *vajrakāya* and was still in the hands of the believers.

Returning to his friends who were run down by disease he went along with them to Varan[27] but on the way to Maṭe[28] one of his companions died and another, Grags pa rgya mt'so by name, passed away in Maṭe. So only Draṅ po bzaṅ po was left (5, a). They spent there three days and went up to a high pass.[29] sTag ts'aṅ halted in the evening on the top, but since his companion did not arrive, on the following day, he returned back thinking that either he had died or was unable to proceed; he met him near half-way below the pass, but on that day it was impossible to go any farther on account of the snow which fell heavily; next day, they started and crossed the pass with great difficulty and having recourse (5, b) to some *yoga* practices after fifteen days reached the Tibetan Zaṅs dkar where they met the great Siddha bDe ba rgya

26 This spring is sacred to the Goddess Saṃdhyā and is called now Sundbrar. STEIN, KALHAN's *Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir* II, p. 469. "The spring of Saṃdhyā derives its fame as well as its appellation from the fact that for uncertain periods in the early summer it flows or is supposed to flow, intermittently, three times in the day and three times in the night."

27 Unidentified.

28 I suppose *Mutti* on the river Brinvar.

29 Perhaps the Shilsar Pass.

mts'o who invited them to spend some time in retreat in the place where he used to meditate. Behind it, there is the magic shield[30] of Nāropā; they spent two months in that place. Then, when their companions arrived from Nagarkoṭ, intending to go to Ga śa,[31] the place of the ḍākinis, they went to ḥBar gdan[32] and from there, having taken leave from bDe ba rgya mts'o and his disciples, they reached Ga ša. The king of this place Ts'e riṅ dpal lde[33] rendered service to them for three months. Then in K'aṅ gsar[34] they were attended upon by the younger sister of the king with her son; she was called bSod nams. They explained various doctrines, such as the mahamudrā, the six laws of Nāropā,[35] the Prāṇayoga, the law of the karmic connection, the esoteric methods, the teachings of Mar pa, Mi la ras pa, and Dvags po[36] rje, the story of the

30 The text has: *p'ub*, but I think there is a mistake, exact reading being: *p'ug* "cave".

31 Ga ŚA = Garśa, the usual Tibetan name for Lāhul.

32 This is perhaps, Paduin, the chief village of Zaṅskar, though in the Chronicles edited by FRANCKE the name of this place is spelt: p. 164 Dpal ldem (p. 166 dPa grum).

33 This king is to be identified with Ts'e riṅ rgyal po brother (*Chronicles of Tinan*, FRANCKE, *ibid*, p. 212) or son (*Genealogical Tree of the Chiefs of Tinan*, *ibid*, p. 216) of bSod nams rgya mts'o = perhaps the same as Ts'e riṅ se grub of the document referred to *ibid* at page 218 (about 1569 A.D.).

34 On the left bank of the Bhaga river.

35 *Viz.* the "Nāropāi c'os drug", the fundamental book of the bKa'rgyud pa and the guide of their haṭhayoga practices.

36 This is the *sampradāya* of the first masters of the bKa'brgyud pa sect.

law,[37] the Maṇi bka' ḥbum[38] etc. They also visited the places near Lāhul, such as Gandhola, Gusa maṇḍala,[39] Re p'ag, and Maru corresponding to the toes of the *vajrakāya*[40]. In winter they sat in retreat for six months in gYur rdsoṅ. Then, for two months they went to Dar rte,[41] where was the king. Altogether, they spent an entire year in Ga śa. After that, while his companions remained there, he went with a single monk from Dar rtse to K'aṅ gsar, sKye naṅ,[42] Gusamaṇḍala where begins the country of Kuluṭa corresponding to the knees of the *vajrakāya;* then, in two days, he reached Re p'ag where there is the image of sPyan ras gzis in the form of ḥGro drug sgrol ye śes.[43] The image is made in stone from Kamaru.[43a] Then, in one day, to Maru, in two days to Pata; then to the bottom of the Ko ṭa la pass; having crossed the pass full of snow he reached Paṅgi and then Sura and after two days Na raṅ. This country is called Ka ma ru and corresponds to the armpits of the *vajrakāya.* Having crossed another high pass, he reached in two days the narrow valley of Tsaṃ bhe dam pa,[44] which he traversed in seven days. Then he found himself in Hindutam.[45] The itinerary

37 *C'os ḥbyuṅ.* This is the general name for any history of the holy doctrines.

38 The famous work attributed to Sroṅ btsan sgam po.

39 Gus on the Chandra River.

40 See above p. 18.

41 The first village to be met when entering Lahul after crossing the Borolacha Pass.

42 *Viz.* Ti naṅ.

43 See SCHUBERT, in *Artibus Asiae* vol. III.

43a The high valley of the Chandrabhaga.

44 *Viz.* Chambâ.

45 Hindutam, mis-spelling for Hindustan.

then runs through: Nurup'u, Śrinagara, Paṭhaṇṇa Nosara Kaṭhuhar, Pāturar, Pathanmosur, Sakiri Salau, Bhetsarbhura Salakauṭhu, Sauṭa, Kauṭa, Ghotsoraka[46] in whose proximity a big river, coming from Kashmir runs to the south. Since in the itinerary of Orgyan pa it was stated that on the other side of this river there is a place called Vara mila he (7, a) marched for four days towards the south, but could not find that place. His companion Zi ba rnam rgyal lost any faith in the itineraries and advised him to return. But he did not listen to him and went to the north-west; after fifteen days through a desert country he reached a place called Hila. He asked there for the town called in the itinerary of Orgyan pa Hora and said to have 700,000 inhabitants; nobody could tell him anything about it. Nor had he better results when he enquired about the mountain of mineral salt called Bañhoṭi. They said anyhow that there were many places where one could find mines of mineral salt the nearest being those of Tsośara; having traversed for three days a desert country they reached Muraga."[47] There they forded a big river and after three days more they reached Tsośara. It is a valley stretching from north-west—where it is very high—to the south-east; where it is low. On its northern side there are many ravines facing south where there is mineral salt in the shape of rocks. To the south of this place there

46 See above.

47 The river is of course the Jhelum; Muraga is perhaps Mulakwal. Tsosara is to be located in the proximity of the Chuil hill.

is the big country of Dhagan and that of Dsamola[48] where there are many believers and many sects of monks. They come to take salt there from Nagarkoṭ up to Lahor and Abher, on the other side, up to Gorsala[49] and Ghoṭhaia-sakaṃ. In the old itineraries it is written that the salt of this place goes as far as Orgyan; but at the time of the author this commerce had stopped; anyhow even in Orgyan there is mineral salt of blu colour like crystal. From Tsośara (6, b) he went to Dhodhośna, and Vavula, then, after two days to Maloṭṭa,[50] where there is a temple founded by king Hula ruined by the soldiers of the Mugal. In the itinerary of Orgyan pa it is stated that to the north-west of this place there is Rukāla, but nobody could give any information about this town. Anyhow marching towards north-west, they met some Turks who were salt traders; he enquired from them about Rukāla, but they replied that the place beyond was desert and full of brigands who were likely to kill them. They could give no information about the road. Proceeding farther, they had a narrow escape from five or six salt diggers who wanted to kill them; the next day (8, a), they turned back but lost the way, went to the east and after some time they met some salt-traders; among them there was an old Brahmin who became a friend of the Tibetan pilgrims. These went along with the caravan until, after

48 Dhagan is Dekhan, and Dsamola is the Tamil Country. (Dramiḍa. Dramila).

49 Perhaps Gujarath.

50 Maloṭṭa is Malot: See above

nine days, they met a salt-lake[51] on whose shore there was a large pasture-land. The pilgrim confesses to have forgotten the name of this lake. The merchants there carried their trade of salt and butter and then went away with the younger brother of the Brahmin, sTag ts'aṅ resumed the march and after three days arrived at Rukāla;[52] then they went to Akkithial, Bhahupur, Mālapur, Uts'alapur, Sapunpur, Reureṭ, Aṭike[53] in front of which runs the Seṅ ge k'a ḥbab. Crossing this river there is a place called Ma ts'il ka natha tril; then there is Pora, Nośara,[54] Mataṅgana, Miṭhapāṇi. It is a spring which has a salt taste and it is said to be derived from the urine of Padmasambhava. They went farther on along with that old Brahmin, three *yogins* and a householder, Atumi by name (8, b). After having been detained by a man called Tsadulhayi[55] who expressed the desire to accompany them but delayed the departure on account of some clothes that he

51 This is the salt lake near Kallar Kahār. It took our pilgrim so many days before reaching this place because, we are told, he went astray.

52 As I stated before (p. 47) I supposed that Rukāla is the same as Rupwal. As to the names which follow, if the identification Rukāla-Rupwal is exact, Bhahūpur might be Bakhuwala to the north of Khaur, Malapur, is perhaps a mis-spelling for Kamalpur and Utsalpur seems to correspond to Uchar (to the south of Campbellpur).

53 Atike must be Attok: this identification is sure on account of the Seṅ ge k'a ḥbab said in our text to be flowing near that place. The Seṅ ge k'a ḥbab is the Tibetan name for the Indus.

54 Of all these places Nosara can certainly be identified with Nowshera. Pora is perhaps a corruption of Piran.

55 Perhaps a Mohammedan name: Shahidullah.

had to wash or of the bad weather, they started again on the journey; but the old Brahmin left them and returned (9. a). The itinerary of s'Tag ts'aṅ runs then through Mādha, Atsimi, Pakśili,[56] Dhaṃdhori, Kiṭuhar, Bhaṭhurvar Paṭhapaṃge, Mutadni, Kapola, Kandhahar, Hasonagar.

Then, they forded a river and resumed the journey through Paruka, Nasbhala, Sik'ir. Proceeding farther for half a day they met about sixteen brigands who boasted to be from Kapur, *viz.*, from Orgyan. They hit the pilgrim on the head, cut his hair, took off his clothes and then sold him as a slave, for some silver *taṅk'as* and some *payesa* to two brothers. After having met another group of six brigands and still another brigand and paid the ransom, in the evening he reached with his proprietors Momolavajra (9, b). He was given some work to do, but at the fourth part of the day (t'un) he began reciting the prayers loudly. The old father of the house in a fit of rage, hit him twice on the head so that he lost consciousness, but he recovered after having recourse to some *yoga* practices and to the meditation on his *guru*. He escaped and arrived at a place called Sithar where he was caught again by the people. He told a Brahmin who happened to be there that he was a Tibetan not from Kashmir but from Mahācina; with his help he was released and at the suggestion of that same Brahmin he went to Bhayasahura where he met many *yogins*. The chief of them was called Buddha-

56 Pakśili perhaps is Bakshali in which case Madha could be identified with Mardān.

nātha. He was received by them with great joy and was given the name of Śamonātha (11, b). Those ascetics had holes in the ears and were called Muṇḍa. Living near Guru Jñānanātha sTag ts'aṅ learnt many doctrines of the *yogins*, such as Gurganātha.[56b] During his stay in that place he could assist in some wrestling performances in great fashion in that town. There was there a famous wrestler who was challenged one day by a Turkish officer who boasted to be very clever in that very art. This Turk began fighting, but was easily overcome by the other who though often requested by his badly injured rival to stop fighting, did not cease until that officer was killed. In the proximity, there is one of the eight cemeteries, *viz.*, that called Ts'an 'ur 'ur sgrogs pa where there is a thick wood. Both believers and unbelievers carry there their corpses, the believers to burn them and the unbelievers to bury them. They go there for secret practices and in the night one can see corpses rising from the soil; there are also many ḍākinīs black, naked, carrying in their hands human hearts or intestines and emanating fire from their secret parts. In this place there are also performances. They fight one with a shield and another with a sword. If one breaks the shield that is all right; otherwise even if he is wounded or dies it is considered to be a shame (12, a). In that place in the first month of the year on the occasion of the big holiday which commemorates the great

56b I cannot find the origin of Śamonātha: is it Śambhunātha? Gurganātha is Gorakṣanātha.

miracle of Buddha there is a great *melā* where many *yogins* and *sannyasins* meet. They told him that he would have seen a great *yogin* hailing from Orgyan (13, a). In fact, he met him and he was astonished to see that he knew everything about his having been captured by the bandits, etc.

This *yogin* told him that he was bound for Hasonagar but that he would return within ten days to take him to Orgyan. Therefore, sTag ts'an ras pa waited in Bhyasahura for ten days; then, since the *yogin* did not come back, he decided to start alone. The *yogins* assembled in Bhyasahura and the great Pir Buddhanātha advised him to go wherever he liked either to Dhagan or to Hindutam or to Lahor save Orgyan; there were there too many Paṭhans who would have killed him (13, b). So he requested them to show him the way to Hindutam, but in fact he went to Hasonagar where he enquired about the *yogin* from Orgyan who was called Pālanātha and succeeded in finding him. That Pālanātha was a Paṭhan by birth who after having been an unbeliever became converted and spent many years in Orgyan. Then they joined a party of traders and went along with them upwards. They crossed a small river and then, through Paruba, Nyapala, Apuka, Killitila, Sikir,[56c] Memolavajra, Sinora, Pelahar, Muṭhilli, Musamli, Muṭhikśi, Mahātilli, Satāhulda, Kalabhyatsi, Saṅgiladhuba, Gothaiaśakaṃ they arrived at a high pass; having crossed it, they arrived in the country

56c But before Sik'ir.

of Orgyan. After three days they reached Dsomok'aṭi[57] where there is the palace of the king. This king was called Parts'agaya. He holds his sway over the 700,000 old towns of Orgyan. This king was an intimate friend of Pālanātha and therefore he gave them a guide who knew well the country. After five days they arrived at the mountain Yalom[58] pelom said to be one of the eight Śrī-parvatas to the Jambudvīpa. At its bottom there grows a medical herb called *jāti* and on its middle there are thick woods of white sandal. On the top there are fields of saffron. In their middle there is a tank, where the king Indrabhūti used to bathe and on the border of this tank there are many chapels beautifully carved and adorned with beams of red sandal. The top of this mountain is higher than the Himālayas. He resided there for seven days (14, a). In a desert valley near that mountain there are many wild animals and every sort of poisonous snakes. Then they went to the other side of the mountain (*15, a), where there is a valley in the shape of a full-blown lotus with eight petals, stretching towards the south-west. After three days they arrived at K'arakśar;[59] then after five days at Rāyiśar.[60] Up to that point the custom of the people of Orgyan is like that of

57 Dsomok'aṭi is said, down below, to be the place where all rivers of Orgyan meet: and on his way back to Kashmir sTag ts'aṅ went straight from that town to the Indus: from there he also starts for the mountain Ilam. I therefore think that Dsomok'aṭi is to be located in the Baranda valley.

58 Ilam mountain, on which see above p. 51.

59 Which seems to be the Karakār Pass.

60 *Saidu*.

the Indians. But after that place it changes. Both men and women have a girth of jewels; this girth sometimes is in the shape of a snake of black colour, sometimes of a snake streaked. They wear a black hat of felt in the shape of a toupet which is adorned with many jewels; the women wear a cap like that of Padmasambhava but without the hem. Both men and women wear earrings, bracelets and rings for the ankle made either of silver or of earth properly prepared. To the south-west side of this place there is the palace of Indrabhūti with nine stories (15, b). But at this time there were only the ruins.[61] Not very far, to the north-west, there is the place where Padmasambhava was burnt; the soil turned into clay. But there is no trace of the lake spoken of in the biography of the saint. After three days' march to the north-west there is a big place called a Rahorbhyara. This place is so situated that it takes seven days from whatever part one wants to reach it either from the west or the east or the north or the south. In its middle there is the vihāra founded by king Indrabhūti the great and called Mangalahor.[62] It possesses one hundred pillars and still has many chapels. Specially worthy of notice is the chapel of Guhyasamāja with its maṇḍala. To the north-west of this locality there are many places, but there are no temples nor things worth seeing. Therefore, both sTag ts'aṅ ras

61 Rāja Girā's Castle?

62 Manglawar: Rahorbhyara and Mangalahor seem therefore to be identified, Mangalahor being the centre of the place.

pa and Pālanāha went back to Rāyiśar. Behind that place there is a small river; they forded it and after one day they arrived at Oḍiyāṇa[63] (16, a); it was a big holiday corresponding to the tenth of the third month of the Buddhist calendar. All people were assembled and singing and dancing they drank all kinds of liquors without restriction. This place is the very core of Orgyan (16, b). To the west of it there is a small temple where one can see the miraculous image of *yogini* of red sandal. To the back of that temple there lives a *yoginī* Hudsunâcha by name more than a thousand years old though she looks about twenty-six or twenty-seven. From that place one can see the mountain called Kamalabir[64] (17, a); its top is always covered by the splendour of the rainbow, but when the rainbow vanishes it looks like a helmet of silver. According to the Tantric literature this mountain is known as the *dharmagañja* (the treasury of the law) or the miraculous palace of Heruka. In front of it there is a cave which is the sacred cave of the Vajra; or according to the itinerary of Orgyan pa the magic cave of Labapa. All the Indians call it Hadsikalpa and it is the abode of K'otas.[65] Behind that mountain there is a lake known as the 'Sindhu-ocean' of Dhanakośa; in colloquial language the Indians call it Samudrasintu. It was distant only one

63 Udegram.

64 The same as the mountain: Kama-'onka, Kamadhoka of Orgyan pa.

65 The meaning or the Sanskrit equivalent of this word is quite unknown to me.

day's journey; but Pālanātha told him that there was no need of going any farther, because behind the pass there was no place to be seen except the lake. To the south there is a small mountain where there is a spring called Maṅgalapāṇi or in colloquial: āyurpāṇi because it bestows immortality. (18, a). Then, they went back and in two days they arrived at Oḍiyāna also called Dhumat'ala; then through Rāyiśar, Midora K'aragśar, where there was a woman emitting fire from the mouth dancing and singing like a mad person whom nobody dared approach, Saṃdibhor, Kavoka, Bhyathabhasabhasor, Dsomok'aṭi was reached. The king at that time was in the park where he kept all sorts of animals, such as Persian lions, boars, etc. under the supervision of special stewards. While Pālanātha remained with the king, sTag ts'aṅ went on his way for five days guided by a man appointed for this purpose by the king. He then forded the Sintupani. The itinerary then runs through Radsahura, after two days, Nila, Kaṃṭhe, Nepale (19, a) Nila'u, Laṅka, Horaña, Asakamni, Mahātsindhe, Ghelaṃri after six days, Gorśala, then again after two days Kalpa, Rukāla, Rahorbuṇḍa, Ravata, Satā, Hati, Tṣiru, Rutā,[66] Dselom, Sara, Bhebar, Nośara, Ratsuga. After three days he reached Lithanna, then crossed two passes and reached a narrow valley.

66 From Ruta to Kashmir the route can easily be followed: it is the old route through the Pir Pañjal Pass, practically abandoned after the extension of the railway to Rawalpindi.

Rutā is Rohtas: Dselom is Jhelum: Bhebar is Bhimber; Nuśara—Nowshera, Ratsuga—Rajaori.

Having then crossed another high pass called Pirbañtsa,[67] after two days he arrived in Kashmir where he went to pay a visit to the famous place Puśpahari in the lower part of which there are fields of saffron. In the proximity of these there is a bazar called Spañpor.[68] After having bathed in the spring of the rock called Sandha[69] he returned to Kashmir proper. At last, having crossed a pass, he arrived after two days at Varan; then he went to Mate and after ten days through a desert country he was in the Tibetan Zañsdkar. Finally, he reached Maryul where he was properly received by the king and his ministers.

67 Lithanna is perhaps Thanamang. Pirbañtsa is evidently Pir Pañjal.

68 Probably Pampur.

69 Cf. above note 26.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

P. 4 l 19 for: "it is not very late" read: "it is rather late."

P. 8 l. 24 for: "gSiṅg tan can" read: "giṅ tan can."

P. 9 l. 13 for: "1200 d.C." read: "1204 A.D."

P. 14 l. 18 for: "*bK'a rgyud*" read: "*bK'a' rgyud.*"

P. 16 n. 2 l. 6 for: "*t'ar p. ṅo mts'ar snnvi ba*" read. "*t'ar ṅa mts 'ar gsaṅ ba.*"

P. 18 n. 25 The *māhātmya* of Gandhola has been translated and edited after this book of mine had been sent to the press by Dr. Schubert: "Der tibetische Māhātmya des Walfahrtsplatzes Trilok-nāth." in *Artibus Asiae*, vols. IV and V.

P. 18 n. 27 l. 3 and p. 21 n. 35 l. 5 for: "*dpa' po*" read: "*dpa' bod*"

P. 19 l. 5 for: "and interpreter who told......" read: "an interpreter carrying also the provisions who......"

P. 20 l. 3 for: "One of the Mon pa being tied" read: "One of the Mon pa leading the way and being tied."

P. 22 l. for: "meet here" read: "meet; here."

P. 29 l. 14 for: "Ñag dbaṅ dGyamtso" read: "Ñag dbaṅ rgya mts'o."

P. 29 l. 18 According to the researches of my pupil Doctor L. Petech (*A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh*, Calcutta 1939, p. 147) Seṅ ge rnam rgyal lived up to 1640 or 1641.

P. 31 l. 20 for: "to Kaboko, Ka' oka and Siddhabor" read: "Siddhabor, Kaboka, Ka'oka."

P. 32 l. 2 for: "ri rdson" read: "ri rdsoṅ."

P. 32 l. 6 for: "Suget'an" read: "Suget'an."

P. 35 l. 9 for: "Muṣamnbi" read: "Muṣamli."

P. 41 n. 1 l. 3 for: "*Rim c'em*" read: "*Rin c'en.*"

P. 42 n. 9 for: "*dbyar be*" read: "*dbyar ba.*"

P. 42, n. 10 for: "Garnatama" read: "Garṇaṭama."

P. 43 n. 12 for: "Guhasamājatikā" read: "Guhyasamājaṭikā."

P. 44 n. 17 for: "Bhāga" read: "Bhāgū."

P. 46 l. 1 for: "Nalcugri" read: "Na'ugri."

P. 46 n. 29 for: "Pandavas" read: "Pāṇḍavas."

P. 47 l. 27 for: "Kacoka" read: "Ka'oka."

P. 47 l. 1 for: "devi" read: "devi."

P. 47 l. 8 transpose "herbs" after: "medical."

P. 47 n. instead of "33a" read: "31a."

P. 49 n. 40a for: "Tu the nas Hu matà la" read: "in the manuscript Humat'ala."

P. 51 l. 1 for: "always trees" read: "meadows green."

P. 51 n. 45 l. 4 for: "Manoglaor" read: "Manglaor."

P. 52; note 48 should be added at the end of note 49 of the following page.

P. 55 l. 17 for: "Kamaconka" read: "Kama'onka."

P. 55 l. 19 for: "Kamalagupta" read: "Kamalaglupa."

P. 56 n. 58 l. 12 for: "Sun Yung" read: "Sung Yun."

P. 58 l. 23 for: "63" read: "63a."

P. 59 n. 65 l 5 for: "stag ts'n" read: "Stag ts'an."

P. 59 n. 65 for: "Rājataranġini" read: "Rājataranġiṇi."

P. 60 l. 8 for: "In the house of the village they nursed (him) and boiled wine" read: "in the house of a beggar........."

P. 61 l. 20 for: "for student" read: "for a student."

P. 61 l. 1 for: "refer" read: "refers."

P. 61 n. 69 for: "Vatipur" read: "Varipur."

P. 62 l. 21 for: "by that boy" read: "By the boy (who had thrown bricks upon him)."

P. 62 l. 9 for: "pint" read: "point."

P. 65 l. 5 for: "entres" read: "enters."

P. 65 l. 16 for: "presided" read: "presided over."

P. 67 l. 27 for: "Vajravārahi" read: "Vajravārāhi."

P. 68 l. 5 and p. 69 n. 20 for: "Srinagara" read: "Śrinagara."

P. 70 l. 22 for: "Kalhan's read: "Kalhaṇa's."

P. 71 l. 12 for: "mahamudra" read: "mahāmudra."

P. 72 n. 43a for: "Chandrabhaga" read: "Chandrabhāgā."

P. 74 l. 8 for: "blu" read: "blue."

P. 78 l. 2 for: "sannyasins" read: "sannyāsins."

P. 81 l. 9 for: "yogini" read: "yogini."

P. 82 n. 66 for: "Ruta" read: Rutā."

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